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ORIGINAL ARTICLES :

Australia : Material Culture.

Davidson.

The Interlocking Key Design in Aboriginal Australian Decorative Art.¹ By Dr. D. S. Davidson, Associate Professor of Anthropology, University of Washington.

One of the most interesting motifs in aboriginal Australian decorative art is the interlocking key, a design prominent at one time or another in many parts of the world, including Greece, China and Peru. Its appearance in the contemporary art of the Australian aborigines thus raises some important questions, not only in respect to the history of this particular pattern, but to the method of determining which aspects of Australian culture are indigenous, which of foreign derivation.

At first glance it might seem that no great difficulties should be encountered in settling the question of the origin of the Australian appearance of such a distinctive design as the interlocking key. It has been found in Bronze Age deposits in Celebes and is present in curvilinear form in the decorative art of modern New Guinea. Its appearance in Australia therefore may not seem remarkable. However, in dealing with simple geometrical designs we are concerned with elusive subject matter which requires special consideration. The various appearances of the interlocking key in the world are far from identical, hence grouping them together under one term, although convenient for the purpose of classifying art forms, does not make them alike nor, in itself, establish any basis of historical relationship. Without supporting evidence a presumption that all the differing forms are deviants from some conceptualized standard is arbitrary in the extreme. Until evidence is secured to show that the basic designs in the various widely scattered appearances were similar during the respective periods when contacts with each other are supposed to have been broken, the possibility should be recognized that one or more of the resemblances may be the results of parallel or convergent developments. Indeed, some of the less formalized appearances may be tendencies toward the perfect interlocking key pattern rather than distortions of it. It also is possible that some similarities are due less to resemblances in the unit motifs than to the manner in which each is repeated in a linear series to form a fret. The fret usually is employed in the decoration of borders or bands, but is not well suited to the filling of large or irregular spaces. Repetition of a motif along an edge is quite a common practice in the world, but

¹ This paper represents the partial results of field research conducted in 1938-1939 in Western Australia under the auspices of the University of Pennsylvania, the American Philosophical Society, and the Carnegie Corporation of New York.

many designs so employed cannot be arranged into a continuous fret without losing their distinguishing features. There are other motifs which, if repeated in line with slight adjustment, might appear to be variant interlocking key patterns. It also should be noted that similar designs may become divergent, and different designs convergent, as the result of changes in the techniques of execution. Curvilinear patterns may become angular if woven into textiles. Angular figures may become rounded at the corners or otherwise distorted if applied with a paint brush. Thus without additional information it is impossible to know whether the similar forms or the differing forms are old or new in the areas where they are now found. Until a historical context has been established in each of several such areas, any similarities in simple geometrical designs in cultures widely separated in time and space cannot be accepted as evidence of historical relationship, but merely as suggestions of possible relationship.

THE INTERLOCKING KEY IN AUSTRALIA.

The interlocking key design in Australia differs considerably from the appearances in other parts of the world. The true fret seems to be lacking and can be said to be approached only in the relatively few instances in which unformalized and widely varying resemblances to the interlocking key are arranged in line in a short series. The Australian artists do not treat the unit design as the formal and unalterable element of a larger pattern, but make it important in itself and in its variability. In some cases the lines may be turned at acute or obtuse angles, rather than at the usual right angles, and continued indefinitely and irregularly as angular meanders, often to cover the entire decorated surface (Figs. 1 (a), (d), (e); 2 (a)). These meandering lines seldom cross, but are turned back wherever necessary to run parallel to themselves or to other zigzagging lines, or are sometimes directed into irregular spaces where, after a few turns which almost unavoidably simulate the interlocking key unit design, they terminate. The interlocking key also may be executed as a space design, rather than as a line design, by filling the compartments between real or imaginary lines with a series of closely set diagonal hatchings which alternate in direction from space to space, herringbone fashion (Figs. 3, 4). In some cases the design itself is well executed, in others it may be indistinct or confused in the sequence of many filled spaces, which alternate to the edge of the decorated surface, or in the irregularity of the arrangements.

The causes of this great variability of expression are uncertain. They could be partially the result of technological difficulties, or of a lack of insistence on perfection. There may be a conscious or subconscious interest in experimenting with the design, either for its own artistic possibilities or for the purpose of decorating the entire surface of the object, a local principle for which the interlocking key is not well suited without the loss of some distinctive features. Variation also may be partially the result of the attempt to portray a line design with the herringbone hatching technique (Fig. 1 (b), (c)), or to execute the herringbone with the line technique of the interlocking key, thus possibly contributing to the development of the meander (Fig. 2 (a)). Whatever the history of these art forms may be, it is clear that it cannot be determined by an analysis of the designs from a single time period. Without archaeological data, historical records, or ethnological evidence to indicate the trends and changes, which over a course of time have produced the modern forms, the contemporary expressions have little meaning for historical problems. Without time perspective it is impossible to determine which of the wide range of appearances are old, which new. A few



Fig. 1. Incised Pearl Shell Ornaments.

The interlocking key design is shown in line style, leading variously into angular meanders, in *a*, *d*, *e*, and in hatching style, usually associated with wooden objects, in *b* and *c*. The former are typically Karadjeri. These specimens were traded to Derby (*a*), Fitzroy Crossing (*b*, *c*), Manilya (*d*), and Roebourne (*e*). (All are in the University of Pennsylvania Museum.)

decades ago such a range of forms might have been interpreted as evidence that the design evolved from the herringbone, directly or via the meander, or *vice versa*, that these two are progressive developments from the interlocking key. But even if it could be determined that the oldest local appearances of the interlocking key were perfect in form, this fact alone would not prove that the design had been invented in or out of Australia.

There are other types of evidence which may throw more important light on the problem of Australian origin versus foreign derivation than would a knowledge of the chronological order of the design elements. Of primary importance is distribution. Should the inter-

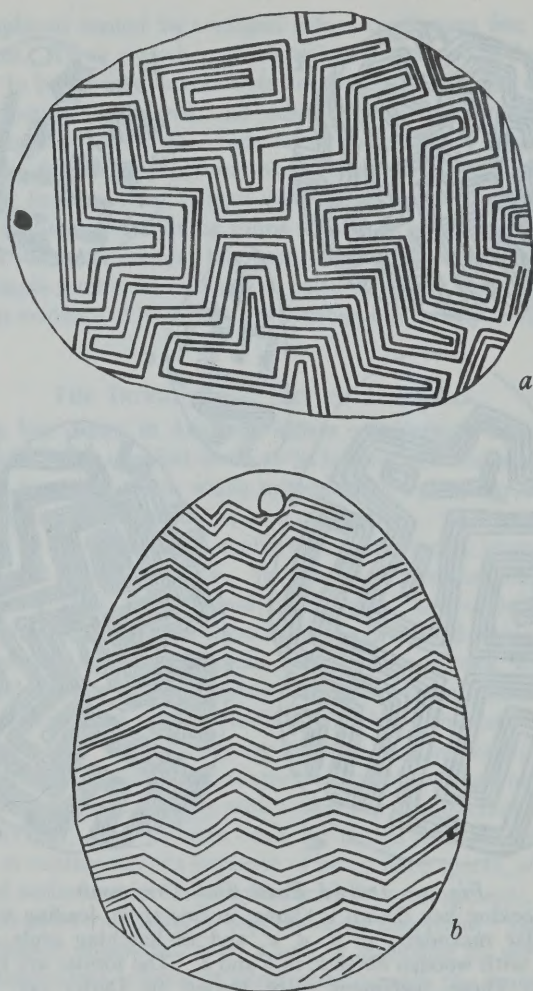


Fig. 2. Incised Pearl Shell Ornaments.

The interlocking key and angular meander are found in *a*, the herringbone in *b*. Specimen *a* was collected at Sunday Island (from Mountford and Harvey). Specimen *b* is in the University of Pennsylvania Museum.

locking key be confined to the interior of the continent, there would be no basis for a claim of overseas derivation, for this fact of distribution would outweigh in importance any similarity with appearances in some other distant culture area. It is of course possible that the distributional evidence is incomplete but that would have to be established by the presentation of additional facts, not by an assumption of incompleteness. If it would be justified to inject the interlocking key into any part of Australia, or for that matter into any part of the



Fig. 3. Karadjeri type shield showing interlocking key as a space design with alternate series of diagonal hatchings extending to edges of decorated surface, herringbone fashion. This specimen had been traded to the De Grey River area. (University of Pennsylvania Museum.)

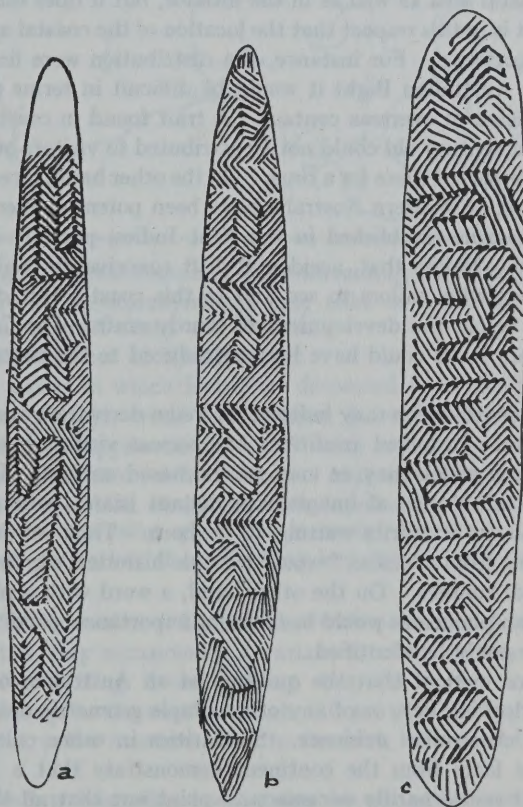


Fig. 4. Wooden churingas with varying interlocking key patterns. Herringbone influences are apparent. a, b, King Leopold Range; c, Mount Vernon. (All University of Pennsylvania Museum.)

world, for any time period necessary for a preconceived conclusion, then there are no anthropological problems, for all unknown origins can be assigned to some remote period in the Palæolithic age, and scattered appearances can be attributed to the migrations of

hypothetical peoples who roamed the world at will regardless of geographical or cultural barriers.

The limits of distribution, however, constitute only part of the evidence. Of equal importance are the facts of diffusion. If adequate archaeological evidence is at hand the spread of a material trait can be shown by successive changes in distribution. Similarly ethnological information may indicate the directions which diffusion has followed. Thus if an inland distribution can be shown to be expanding toward the coast, an origin in the interior is indicated by a second primary fact. On the other hand, diffusion from a coastal area to the interior does not in itself constitute proof of an overseas derivation, for traits may originate in a coastal area as well as in the interior, but it does establish the possibility of a foreign source. It is in this respect that the location of the coastal area and the antiquity of the trait are of importance. For instance, if a distribution were limited to the coast at the head of the Great Australian Bight it would be difficult in terms of general knowledge to justify even a suspicion of overseas contact. A trait found in coastal New South Wales and known to be only a century old could not be attributed to visitors other than Europeans, or to Maori workmen employed there for a time. On the other hand, direct overseas influences along the northern coast of Western Australia have been potential ever since the concept of off-shore navigation became established in the East Indies, possibly in the larger islands almost 2,000 years ago. Before that, accidental drift conceivably could have swept unwillingly, East Indian coastwise, sailors to sea and to this coast. But direct contacts would have been impossible before the development of sturdy craft. The Cape Yorke Peninsula is the only region where traits could have been introduced to the continent in very ancient times.

Other types of evidence which may indicate a foreign derivation are traditional information and linguistic data. However, traditions of overseas visitors should not be confused with mythological fiction which may or may not be based on fact. In many parts of the world coastal peoples tell stories of imaginative distant islands where dwell supernatural beings, disembodied souls, or spirits waiting to be born. Thus words which might mean "the design which came from overseas" would have no historical significance if it functioned solely in a mythological context. On the other hand, a word with a phonemic structure at variance with Australian phonemes would be of major importance, particularly if its affiliation with another language could be identified.

All in all, it seems evident that the question of an Australian origin or an overseas derivation of the interlocking key, or of any other simple geometric design, must be decided only on the basis of Australian evidence. Similarities in other culture areas are of no significance unless the facts from the continent demonstrate that a foreign derivation is culturally possible. It seems hardly necessary to point out that all the facts required for such a conclusion are seldom available. Nevertheless, all hypotheses of overseas influences should be in accord with the facts at hand, not at variance with them.

THE AUSTRALIAN EVIDENCE.

With these considerations in mind, let us consider the direct evidence concerning the interlocking key on the continent, where the design in various forms is found along the northern coast of Western Australia on baobab nuts, boomerangs, spear-throwers, shields, pearl shells and churingas (see map, Fig. 5).



Fig. 5. *Distribution of the Interlocking Key Design.*

- \\ \\ Territory of the Karadjeri, the only tribe to apply the interlocking key design to pearl shells and shields.
- La Grange, centre of Karadjeri art.
- Distant points to which Karadjeri decorated pearl shells have been traded.
- ➔ Direction of major trade in Karadjeri decorated shields.
- /// Distribution of application of interlocking key design to churingas.
- ← Direction of diffusion from Karadjeri near end of 19th century.
- ⇐ Directions in which churingas with interlocking key design have been traded in increasing quantities in recent decades.
- ↪ Suggested derivation of interlocking key design from the East Indies.

Baobab Nuts. The decoration of baobab nuts with painted and incised designs, usually naturalistic figures,² but very occasionally a variant interlocking key pattern, seems to be limited to the southern King Sound region, but the exact locality is uncertain.³ The Karadjeri at La Grange to the west⁴ associate this art with Derby, as do the Djaru in the eastern Kimberley area, a few hundred miles to the east, who do not receive these objects in trade.

Boomerangs. Western Australian boomerangs are not permanently ornamented except in an area only slightly larger than that in which baobab nuts are decorated.⁵ The inter-

² Animals, birds, reptiles, plants and leaves predominate.

³ See Davidson, 1937, pp. 63-65; McCarthy, 1948, pp. 44, 51. Most specimens come from the Derby area, few from surrounding tribes.

⁴ West of the Karadjeri decorated baobab nuts seem to be generally unknown at Warrawagine, Nullagine, Jigalong Creek, etc. One Targudi informant had heard that they belonged far to the north-east.

⁵ See Davidson, 1936, pp. 90-92; 1937, pp. 19-21. A consistent feature of all Western Australian boomerangs is their pointed ends, in contrast to those with rounded ends made in the Northern Territory and Central Australia. The line of demarcation is uncertain, but lies east of the Djaru, probably close to the Western Australian border.

locking key is seldom applied.⁶ The distribution cannot be delimited with precision. On the north the Kimberley ranges provide a boundary, for boomerangs were lacking north of the mountains until recent years.⁷ Derby may mark the eastern limit, for the Djaru report that their imported incised specimens⁸ come from that locality. The Karadjeri acknowledge that they are the westernmost tribe to practice the art.⁹ There is no evidence to suggest that the southern limit extends beyond the Karadjeri.

Spear-throwers. The interlocking key design appears on spear-throwers very infrequently.¹⁰

Shields. The most carefully executed examples of the interlocking key as a space design are found on the backs of a local type of shield centred in the Karadjeri tribe (Fig. 3). Indeed the Karadjeri seem to be responsible for all incised examples which constitute an important item of trade from La Grange northward to the Dampierland and King Sound tribes.¹¹ Occasional specimens have been collected further afield.¹²

Pearl Shell Ornaments. The art of incising pearl shell seems to be confined to the La Grange-Dampierland-Derby region, but the exact distribution is uncertain.¹³ From this centre specimens are traded as far as western Queensland, southern South Australia, and central and north-western Western Australia.¹⁴

The incised specimens are impressive. When rubbed with red or black pigments the designs stand out in striking contrast to the natural lustre of the shell. The motifs are

⁶ The motifs include herringbone, concentric circles and spirals (recent), figure-of-eight patterns of several parallel lines, anthropomorphic figures, hands, birds, reptiles, emu feet and leaf-like forms.

⁷ The Worora received their first boomerangs in 1917 from King Sound (Love, 1917, p. 30). As late as 1938 they apparently did not make them. The Ungarinyin neither used nor made them in 1928 (McCarthy, 1939, p. 82). The north Australian type is received by the Djaru and Kidja from a south-easterly direction. Along the eastern Canning Route it comes from the east. Some specimens are passed on and a few reach even the distant Worora, who regard them with awe and mystery (Love, 1938, p. 78). The odd hooked boomerangs, a variant type, called *wilgi* by the Djaru, are traded over the same routes.

⁸ These specimens are called *bıldjèroneu*.

⁹ The Nangumarda and the Targudi further west associate incised boomerangs specifically with the Karadjeri.

¹⁰ McCarthy, 1948, p. 50, illustrates a specimen, locality not stated.

¹¹ McCarthy, 1939, p. 435; Elkin, p. 298.

¹² A specimen from the De Grey River is an obvious trade piece, since it differs from the type of shield made locally. The design is not local at Wyndham, where another example was collected. See Davidson, 1937, legend for Fig. 88, p. 129.

¹³ For general discussion see Davidson, 1937, pp. 60-63; Mountford and Harvey; McCarthy, 1939, pp. 93, 96-98; 1948, Fig. 33.

Plain shell ornaments are widely distributed in northern and western regions, particularly Queensland and the western coast of Western Australia. In the north-west the Talainji and Baiong, and further south the Bardimaia at Mullewa, report the former use of small, undecorated shells, presumably of local derivation. None was seen. The Bardimaia call them *bàran-gàra*; their northern neighbours, *mindi*. Mountford and Harvey, p. 125, Fig. 5 (a), (c), (j), illustrate three specimens of a smaller type of shell with nondescript scratched decoration. The tribe is given as Maratunia, which possibly is Mardudhunera (?). Pearl shells are not incised north of King Sound. To the east the Djaru and Kidja secure the large specimens (*icdguli*) and small examples (*bindja-indja*) from the Derby area, giving in return north Australian boomerangs and dillybags (some of latter made locally). The desert Pedong and Wanman receive from the Karadjeri decorated shells known as a class as *ridji*, a term also used west of the De Grey River by the Nyamal. The importing Nangumarda, as well as the Pedong and Wanman, call the large ornaments *icágura*, the small ones *bira-bira*, the latter a widely used term in the north-west. Some specimens reach the coastal Ngáluma and may be traded inland to the Injibandi, who know them as *ngámara*, or sent further westward along the coast. The Talainji at Northwest Cape call them *págunardi* and pass some on to the Baiong, who use the terms *págunári* and *ngámara*.

¹⁴ Specimens are scarce in these distant areas, where they probably are valued as much as curiosities as for their various uses in magic, healing and initiation ceremonies. They are not numerous even among the western neighbours of the Karadjeri.

numerous and range from naturalistic¹⁵ to geometric forms, including a large proportion of interlocking key and angular meander designs, as well as variant and irregular, widely spaced herringbones (Figs. 1, 2). The naturalistic decorations presumably are incised in the same areas where similar figures are applied to the baobab nuts and boomerangs. The interlocking key seems to be confined to the Karadjeri, for they, at least in so far as pearl shell is concerned, are reported to be the only tribe possessing the mythological chants associated with this pattern.¹⁶

Churingas. It is in association with churingas that the application of the interlocking key design is found in its greatest distribution (Fig. 4). Not only is this motif being applied throughout a relatively extensive region but these churingas are being introduced to areas where the design in this association was unknown until recent years. The distribution of use of these objects is poorly known for only the Dampierland and lower Fitzroy River areas are well represented in the museum collections. However, it is possible to indicate the western limit of application as the De Grey valley and Nullagine areas, the southern boundary somewhere in the desert directly to the east. The north-eastern limits of application are uncertain. The Djaru receive specimens from western neighbours, but apparently not from the aborigines at Derby, who supply other objects with this design, but the actual artists have not been determined. These churingas are being passed on in increasing numbers to north of the Kimberley Ranges, an area where all churingas and bullroarers seem to have been lacking until recent years.¹⁷

The Nangumarda who occupy the country to the west of the Karadjeri as far as the De Grey River, recognize the interlocking key design as new, although they have applied it locally to churingas since near the end of the last century, during which time its importance has been gradually increasing.¹⁸ It is associated exclusively with the rites of circumcision and subincision, principally the former, and is replacing the longitudinal zigzag design formerly incised on churingas used in these ceremonies.

Although the interlocking key design is known to have come specifically from the Karadjeri, that is, from the east, it has not yet been integrated in the Nangumarda version of the Wadji Kuthara myth,¹⁹ the story of the two culture heroes who came from the east

¹⁵ Crocodiles, fish and floral figures are popular.

¹⁶ McCarthy, 1939, p. 97. (Information from Dr. A. P. Elkin.)

¹⁷ Elkin, p. 298.

¹⁸ Each initiate must make his own churinga before marriage, but not necessarily before his previous initiation has been completed. At Warragine in 1939 expensive lumber was purchased from southern mills. The churingas are locked in a storehouse built of European materials.

¹⁹ The Wadji Kuthara myth is also known as *pûrkardjîmbar*. The two mythical heroes, one belonging to the Karimera section, the other to Banaga, who thus were *yînîni* or cross-cousins, wandered westward along the coast past Wallal to the De Grey River. Here they turned south and came up the river. They busied themselves with altering the landscape. Pools were made in the river, outcrops of rocks were thrown up, holes were made in rocks, and various peculiar features of the local terrain were formed. Along the lower De Grey they encountered very large, fierce, carnivorous animals called *myerda* which now are not in existence. These beasts killed one of the heroes but the other resuscitated him and they resumed their journey. Sometimes they walked on the ground, sometimes they flew through the air. On a hill between Warrawagine and Rudall Creek they left a large churinga, which subsequently was stolen by a man named Kariridi. (Derivation uncertain, but *kâri*, sea or salt, *ridji*, shell.) When they returned for the churinga and could not find it they looked about, and finally saw it projecting from the Southern Cross, where it appeared as a dark spot. They introduced the Southern Cross into a ceremony and changed its name from *îwari* to *yîndari*. After visiting Nullagine they turned back east and went underground in a big hill formed from a stack of churingas and bullroarers at Wardjawa, near Rudall Creek.

and introduced circumcision, subincision and many other culture traits.²⁰ It would not be surprising if it were added to the myth complex in due course, for some informants felt that the design belonged to the Wadji Kuthara in the east and that the latter, for some reason or other, neglected to introduce it during the period of their local visit.

South-west of the Nangumarda, the Targudi attribute the interlocking key design to influences from desert tribes to their north-east. It has been given such prominence during the last half century that it has all but replaced the longitudinal zigzag motif formerly typical of local churingas and still the standard design among tribes to the west and south.²¹

An interesting slate churinga with a very carefully executed interlocking key motif, similar to the designs on the Karadjeri shields, has been illustrated elsewhere.²² Its point of origin has not been determined but it appears that this type of churinga, of which only a few specimens have been found, may be associated with some of the near or distant eastern neighbours of the Karadjeri. The Karadjeri deny that they are responsible for these objects.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS.

To summarize the evidence for Australia, it has been shown that the application of the interlocking key design is limited to a relatively small region centred on the northern coast of Western Australia between the Fitzroy River area on the east, the De Grey River and Nullagine areas on the west, and an undefined line north of the Canning Route on the south. Although applied to several types of object the design appears so infrequently on baobab nuts, boomerangs and spear-throwers that it seems permissible to dismiss them from consideration.

The three types of object on which the interlocking key is important are associated directly with the Karadjeri. Its application to pearl shells and shields is exclusively their practice, hence they are the only tribe which could have extended the use of the Karadjeri shield design to churingas, as a substitute for the longitudinal zigzag design formerly associated with them. Since there is evidence to indicate that churingas arrived on the coast from the interior in relatively recent times, it is possible that the Karadjeri began the substitution shortly after these ceremonial objects were adopted, perhaps as recently as the middle nineteenth century. According to their tradition the longitudinal zigzag retained some importance until about the end of the century.

The westward spread of the interlocking key as a churinga design is attested by the Nangumarda and Targudi who received it from the Karadjeri toward the end of the nineteenth century.

For the tribes east of the Karadjeri the information is less definite. It is uncertain whether the interlocking key is applied even to-day very far east of the longitude of Derby. The Kidja and Djaru in the eastern Kimberley district traditionally associate it with the

²⁰ The Nangumarda attribute to the Wadji Kuthara the introduction of circumcision and subincision, boomerangs, straight spears, the fire-plow, the four section system, bullroarers, churingas, the thread cross, and various songs and ceremonies. The exploits of the Wadji Kuthara are known along the Canning Route, but apparently are lacking in the Mulla Bulla region of eastern Kimberley.

²¹ To the west the Panjima recognize the interlocking key as a decorative feature of tribes somewhere to the east. At Jigalong Creek to the south it is known to be typical of large churinga, called *irimari*, possessed by desert tribes to the north-east. At Bald Hill, north-east of Peak Hill, large churingas are known by this term, but the interlocking key motif is associated with tribes far to the north.

²² Davidson, 1937, p. 99, Fig. 72 (a).

Derby area, a few hundred miles to the west. They seldom received objects decorated with this motif until recent decades, when churingas began to arrive from their western neighbours. This movement has been growing in intensity and has been extended north of the Kimberley Ranges. Whether the authority to incise the design on churingas is spreading eastward in the wake of the traded specimens has not been determined.

Also associated with the Karadjeri are both the line and diagonal hatching styles of portrayal. The former, leading into angular meanders, seems to be exclusively Karadjeri, and is applied only to the hard pearl shells. The latter is typical of wooden objects, but is found occasionally in simple form on shell specimens, and has spread from the Karadjeri to the various tribes which now incise the interlocking key design on churingas. The best proportioned and most carefully executed examples of this style are found on the Karadjeri shields. The two styles therefore not only have their sources in the artistry of the same tribe, but are executed at the present time by the same craftsmen, who tend to associate each with a specific type of material.

The type of object to which the interlocking key design was first applied in Australia is uncertain, but unless unknown objects are involved, it seems evident that it was either pearl shells or wooden shields. Since shell is so much more difficult to incise than wood, the associated peculiarities in technique and design may represent adjustments to that material. If so, the geometrically well proportioned designs with the carefully arranged diagonal hatchings, so typical of the modern shields, may have served as the original model. However, without archæological evidence there is no assurance that the modern shield designs are not elaborations of some simpler form. If the designs on older shields lack the diagonal hatchings they would be basically similar to the line designs on the modern shells, the difference being that on the shields the lines would enclose rectangular spaces, whereas on the shells they are turned at angles of various degrees and continued as angular meanders. The designs on the modern shields, therefore, could represent the combination of such a simple outline form and the herringbone tradition, so widespread in Western Australia and found in variant form on some shells (Fig. 1 (b), (c)). Unfortunately shields from the pre-European period are not available and, as a result of their perishable nature, there is little hope that much can be learned of them archæologically.

Since the Karadjeri shield is confined to a small coastal area there is the possibility that it may have been introduced from overseas and, if so, may have brought the interlocking key design with it. However, it differs but little from other varieties of Australian shields and in its sunken grip has affinities with the shields of the interior of the continent. Thus it would seem that the question of its derivation cannot be isolated from the problem of the origin of Australian shields in general.

Decorated pearl shells should be retrievable from archæological deposits in the Karadjeri area. Furthermore, since those with interlocking key designs are produced only by the Karadjeri, their presence in datable horizons anywhere on the continent will provide a basis for cross-dating in the home region. The ethnological evidence does not suggest that the design enjoys much antiquity, even among the Karadjeri, for since they seem to have been its sole possessors less than a century ago, it is quite possible that it was unknown fifty years or so earlier, or about 1800. Whether a greater antiquity will be revealed archæologically remains to be determined. But regardless of the question of actual antiquity it is to be

hoped that the chronology of the changes in the design can be established. If it is found that the oldest designs are in outline and that subsequently diagonal hatchings were tried but abandoned, the possibility that the designs on the modern shields have been influenced by herringbones would be strengthened. If the oldest designs on the shells are similar to those on modern shields, and subsequently were altered into line designs and angular meanders, the conclusion that the hatching style represents the original form of the design on the continent would be warranted.

If undecorated pearl shell ornaments are found in the older archæological deposits, and completely decorated specimens in a succeeding level, it would suggest that the design did not originate with the shells but had been transferred from some type of object identity unknown, but conceivably the Karadjeri shield.

Although it would be difficult to prove that a design did not originate locally, unless decorated objects definitely of foreign derivation, such as pottery sherds, could be found archæologically, the possibility of an overseas origin can be indicated by other types of evidence. Until archæological data determine the original form of the interlocking key in Australia we do not know which form to seek overseas. Nevertheless, the small distribution of the application of all varieties of the design along the northern coast opposite the lesser Sunda Islands, the evidence of spread in less than a century from a tiny area around La Grange to the present limits, and the original association of the two major stylistic varieties respectively with two types of object made principally by the local Karadjeri, provide strong support for the contention that the design may be new and introduced, rather than old and indigenous. The Australian data thus invite a consideration of all overseas facts consistent with this evidence. It should be recognized that if the interlocking key has been derived from the East Indies, most of the evidence which may ever be found there will pertain to the history of the design in that region and not to its association with Australian objects. Hence, as long as the information from the islands is scattered and fragmentary, most of it can be expected to be at variance with the requirements of the evidence from the continent. Stray facts from the East Indies which may be inconsistent should be utilized only for what they are worth in perspective. Above all, they should not be considered as a basis for interpreting the evidence from Australia, for in respect to continental problems it is the latter which is of primary importance. The Australian evidence can be modified or expanded only by more information from Australia, and any attempt to force it into an overseas context cannot be justified methodically. The task is to find the overseas evidence consistent with it.

Evidence from the East Indies which may pertain to the problem of the interlocking key in Australia is exceedingly slim. It is worth noting that late in the eighteenth century the inhabitants of Timor Laut were making annual voyages to the Northern Territory. It is quite possible that their neighbours of Timor, Soemba or other nearby islands, knew of and visited Western Australia at about that time, but as yet there is no direct supporting evidence. Nor is it yet known whether these islanders ever possessed the interlocking key design.

It is at this point that the appearance of the design on prehistoric pottery sherds found at Galoempang, West Central Celebes, deserves consideration (Fig. 6). At the moment these finds do not seem to pertain directly to the Australian problem but constitute an

independent fact which may or may not have ramifications. The dating of the Galoempang site is uncertain, but on the basis of comparisons with Bronze Age designs in China and Indo-China has been assigned variously to the period between late in the first millennium B.C. and pre-Islamic times, possibly as late as A.D. 1300.²³ However, unless it is assumed that the potters of Galoempang visited the Karadjeri, the date of their site is of incidental importance. The sherds merely prove that the interlocking key was employed for decoration in a part of the East Indies 500 to 1500 years prior to the earliest use in Australia as presently known. If there is a historical relationship between the two appearances there must be an overlapping in the time spans in the two regions. Either the design continued to be applied in the East Indies for many centuries, say until about 1800, during which time it spread to the particular islanders who brought it to Australia, or it was introduced into



Fig. 6. Pottery Sherd, Galoempang, Celebes.

The date is uncertain but has been assigned variously from late first millennium B.C. to pre-Islamic times. The filling of spaces with incised lines is a general decorative feature and is not necessarily comparable to the herringbone style of portrayal on Australian wooden objects. (After Heine-Geldern.)

Australia from 500 to 1500 years earlier than presently indicated, at which time it must have been possessed by the islanders who visited the continent as well as by the occupants of Galoempang, Celebes. However, any theory of introduction must be accommodated to Australian evidence and it would seem unlikely, although not impossible, that the aborigines in the La Grange area would have retained the design as their exclusive property for a period of from 500 to 1500 years. But that is a question for archæology to settle. In any event the hypothesis of an introduction from the East Indies to Australia, whether early or late, implies that the design was present in islands other than Celebes, and that dates different from that of the Galoempang site, whatever it may be, are involved, both in Celebes and elsewhere. Until Australian archæology determines the original form of the design and its antiquity on the continent, the stray bits of information from the East Indies cannot be viewed in proper perspective.

²³ Heine-Geldern, p. 138.

There seems to be no reason to doubt that the interlocking key design in some form came to Australia from the East Indies. The general reasons for such a conclusion are abundant and varied, and are based on types of evidence independent of any controversy over design analysis and identification. It may be found that the ethnological data now available from Australia have already defined the essentials of the problem. The details await determination. In view of the potential archæological sources of information, it would seem that conclusions based on specific evidence ultimately will be possible.

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D. S. DAVIDSON.

Melanesia : Social Anthropology.**Bell.****The Narrative in Tanga.** By F. L. S. Bell. (Continued from Vol. 4, No. 1.)

My second example of the myth has to do with the origin of the coconut palm, a tree which provides the natives of this group with a basic foodstuff. As the myth develops it will be seen that it is the nutritional value of the coconut which determines the form of the myth. Here follows the myth of the *Pirpir*³⁶ and the Coconut Palm :

"Many generations ago there were no coconut palms. One day a man of Boieng died and they buried him in a cavern named Li-iu (the Cave of the Spear). Shortly after, a tree began to sprout from his head and it broke through the roof of the cave and it grew to such a height that the topmost branches penetrated the clouds and were lost to sight. This tree was a coconut palm which bore edible nuts. However, since it was so high, no one knew that it bore such good fruit. It was left to the smallest and least significant of birds, the *pirpir*, to discover this fact.

"One morning, before dawn, he equipped himself with a small basket full of *canarium* almonds, two small stones and a sharpened stick and began to climb the tree. By mid-day he was tired and hungry. He hammered the stick into the trunk of the tree, hung his basket on it and had a meal. He broke open and ate the kernels of four *canarium* almonds, after which he resumed his climb, taking his basket and his stick along with him. Just before sunset he stopped climbing again and had another meal. He then went to sleep. In the morning, he woke up, had another meal of nuts and began to climb again. By mid-afternoon, he reached the top of the palm. He looked around him and saw Muliama (on the mainland of New Ireland) to the south-west and Feni to the south-east and many other islands to the north and the west. To each of these islands he hurled a ripe coconut (*ang ku*).

"He then threw one down to the base of the tree but it broke into small pieces. The *pirpir* then said to himself : 'This tree is too high. No one will be able to gather nuts from such a high tree.' He then pushed the head of the tree down a long way. He dropped another *ku* and it also broke into small pieces. He pushed the tree down still further and again dropped a ripe nut. It again broke into small pieces. He pushed the tree down again and at last was able to drop a *ku* without causing it to break. He then tried dropping a nut which was not quite ripe (*an da:n*). He discovered that the palm was still too high to permit of the nut being dropped without fracturing its shell. However, by a series of further depressions of the top of the tree, the correct height from which a *da:n* could be safely dropped was obtained. The *pirpir* then dropped a green nut used for drinking purposes only (*an tut*). It broke into small pieces and the height of the tree had to be adjusted by a further series of depressions until even a *tut* could be dropped without damage.

"Having satisfied himself that the tree was now at that height from which all types of nuts could be dropped in safety, the *pirpir* gathered up his basket and flew back to his home in the jungle. From that day on, all coconut palms stopped growing at the height to which the *pirpir* had depressed the top of the first coconut palm."

A second version of this myth, which was told me by a Feni man, indicates the variations which tend to creep into all forms of the narrative among these people.

"Many generations ago there lived a brother and sister. The brother died. He was buried in a cave and from his head there grew a coconut palm. The palm penetrated the

³⁶ The *pirpir* is a small yellow bird something like our domesticated canary. It is either a species of Sunbird (*Nectarinia jugularis*) or less probably a Yellow-throated White Eye (*Zosterops metcalfei*).

roof of the cave and grew to a height of six feet. There it stopped growing. When the sister who survived became pregnant, the coconut palm flowered and began to bear nuts. When she gave birth to a child, the palm likewise dropped some ripe nuts. The woman asked her husband to pick one of the green nuts for her baby. He did so and after trying it first, gave it to the child. He then broke open a ripe nut and after eating the flesh declared it to be good. He gave some of it to his baby daughter. The woman, being the sister of the man from whose head sprang the coconut palm, was forbidden to have any contact with her brother or with any object, especially a foodstuff, which had come into contact with her brother. She was therefore forbidden to eat the fruit of the coconut palm nor could she approach within speaking distance of the tree without embarrassment. She therefore called out to the tree to grow up into the sky. The palm thereupon grew right up through the dome of the sky."

My third and last example of the mythical tale concerns the miraculous doings of a character named Kabutrai. My informant, Solfunmat, explained to me that Kabutrai and his brother Suilik were two *tara*, that is, supernatural beings with supernormal powers, who lived on the island of Boieng long before the advent of man. According to Solfunmat, it was Kabutrai who cut open the serpent Longget and released the totemic animals. In fact, Kabutrai always figures in these myths as a sagacious benefactor of mankind, whilst Suilik fills the rôle of the ignorant, blundering character whose errors of judgment, when not corrected by Kabutrai, have adversely affected the fate of present-day man. I have called these fragmentary myths about Kabutrai "The Tales of Kabutrai the Miracle Worker," and the first concerns the invention of watercraft.

"Whenever Suilik wished to go from one island to another, he sat on a hollow log gong (*ga:mti*) and paddled himself from shore to shore with a large stick. Kabutrai went inland and secretly made himself a large plank canoe (*mon*). He brought it down to the beach and showed it to Suilik. He asked Suilik to try out the *mon* and when he had tested it, he asked him whether it was alright. Suilik said: 'Yes, it is quite a good canoe.' Kabutrai then said: 'Alright, it is yours now.' Kabutrai then went inland again and made himself an outrigger canoe (*wa:ng*). He brought it down to the beach and showed it to Suilik. He asked him to try it out and when he had tested it and found it good, Kabutrai asked him whether he preferred it to the *mon*. Suilik said: 'Yes, I like it better than the *mon*.' He then gave the *mon* back to Kabutrai and set off in his small outrigger to the Siar district on the east coast of the mainland of New Ireland. This is why there are so many outrigger canoes in Siar and so few in Boieng. Before Suilik finally departed for Siar, Kabutrai made him a bamboo raft (*rau-ut*), but Suilik handed it back to Kabutrai, saying that the *wa:ng* was good enough for him. This is why Boieng has the *mon* and the *rauut* and Siar has only the *wa:ng*. Suilik landed at a place on the Siar coast named Anselo. The entrance passage through the hidden reef is very dangerous but Suilik passed through it quite easily in his shallow draft outrigger canoe."

The second tale of Kabutrai is an account of how the various fruits and vegetables lost their one time powers of mobility.

"Kabutrai and Suilik made a garden and planted therein all manner of fruit and vegetables. The former warned the latter that on leaving the garden he must not turn around and look at the plants. Of course, Suilik could not contain his curiosity and he turned around and looked back at the garden. By thus disobeying the warning of Kabutrai he

caused all of the vegetables and fruit trees to become stationary and they have remained thus ever since. Kabutrai was very angry with Suilik for making such a foolish mistake and he sent him away on his *wa:ng* to Siar."

Other incidents in the life of these two characters are of the wish fulfilment type. They indicate what the native would like to accomplish if granted the necessary powers.

"One day Suilik brought a large yam back to the men's house and gave it to Kabutrai. The latter told Suilik to invite a large number of persons to a feast, but Suilik refused to do so. He said to Kabutrai: 'We have but a single yam! How can we feed our guests properly on a single yam?' Kabutrai then said the following words over the yam: '*Puk sina:m i funfun*' (lit. 'This yam/tuber/it is/a great number') and there appeared in the place of the single tuber a large heap of yams."

"On another occasion, Suilik was clearing a space in the jungle for a garden. After cutting away at the undergrowth for a long time, he had little to show for all his hard work. Kabutrai came along and told Suilik to cease his labours. He then said: '*Bal'n mok i rop*' (lit. 'The clearing/of/the bush/is/finished') and immediately a large cleared area made itself visible."

"It was always the practice of Suilik to sit upon the branch which he wished to remove from a tree whilst he was cutting it through. He always used to fall to the ground and hurt himself every time he lopped off a branch. It was Kabutrai who showed him how to sit on that part of the branch which was attached to the tree and cut through it so that *it* fell and *he* remained sitting up in the tree."

"Whenever a lot of vegetables, firewood or pigs had to be transported over rough tracks to a distant village, Kabutrai simply said: '*Gum'ula: una ma:li*' (lit. 'Everything has gone to another place'), whereupon the whole lot disappeared from where it had been and was found in the village to which it was destined."

CONCLUSION.

Our study of the narrative in Tanga is now concluded. No attempt has been made to give a literal version of any tale, legend or myth but every effort has been made to demonstrate to the reader the real nature of native narrative and to show how it enriches the life of these people. A careful study of the various narrative forms of a non-literate people should provide the student of native life with an excellent picture of the culture—its material level as well as its religious and philosophical nature. And yet it is next to impossible to understand and appreciate native narrative lacking a knowledge of the ritual and technological aspects of native life. All aspects of culture are interdependent and readers of this article who wish to attain to a fuller understanding of the narrative in Tanga are urged to examine other articles by the author on other aspects of the life of the Tanga.

He has tried to lift the folk tale, the legend and the myth from their flat existence on paper and place them in the three-dimensional reality of full life. The information on which this article is based came to him full flavoured from his own observations of native life. He practised open-air anthropology as opposed to hearsay note-taking. It was hard work but great fun. "Only such anthropology can give us the all-round vision of primitive man and of primitive culture. Such anthropology shows us, as regards myth, that far from being an idle mental pursuit, it is a vital ingredient of practical relation to the environment."³⁷

F. L. S. BELL.

³⁷ Malinowski, B., *Myth in Primitive Psychology*, London, 1926, p. 127.

Australia : Material Culture.**Black.**

Notes on the Material Culture of the Aborigines of the Darling River Valley, Western New South Wales. (I.) By R. Lindsay Black.

The Darling River flows in a south-westerly direction from the Queensland border at Mungindi to Wentworth, where it joins the Murray River at the Victorian border. In a direct line between these two points it would be about 700 miles. Actually it is called the Darling River between Wentworth and Brewarrina and from that point to the Queensland border it is known as the Barwon. Beyond the border it becomes the McIntyre. In order to save confusion I have called the whole area watered by this river system the Darling River Valley.

In various sections of this valley, the Aborigines have left evidence of a number of varying practices. We found none which extended along the whole length of the river and many were confined to reasonably small areas. It is very evident that climatic conditions defined the tribal areas, as certain objects of material culture are only found as far out from the river as the source of the creeks and watercourses which feed the river at each particular point. In this hot, dry country of very low rainfall, water is and was the first consideration. The Aborigines were hunters and lived off the land and they could only find game plentiful where there was a supply of water. They also camped close to the large water-holes or other permanent water, except during the wet seasons.

The chief tribe occupying the valley below Brewarrina was the *Barkinji*, sometimes called *Parkinji*. They were a strong and powerful people, who were divided into a number of smaller tribes, each of whom had its own special customs. However, these were substantially the same from Wentworth to Brewarrina. Above this point the *Kamilaroi* people occupied a similar position. The customs of the *Barkinji* and *Kamilaroi* were quite different in many respects, the basic difference being that the *Barkinji* were divided into two-class intermarrying groups and the *Wiradjuri* and *Kamilaroi* into four-class groups but all counted descent through the mother.

With regard to their material culture, no cylcons were found above Brewarrina and no carved trees below this point. In the country once occupied by the *Barkinji*, we find examples of the following objects of material culture and ritual practices : cylcons, widows' caps, grave markers, grooved axes, stone arrangements, stone mounds, engraved rocks, rock paintings and stencilling. In the territory above Brewarrina, trees were carved or incised at both ceremonial and burial grounds.

A brief description of each of the above is here given.

Cylcons. The word cylcon is a portmanteau word used to describe certain types of implements, which were known as cylindro-, conical and cornute stones. These stones were first described by Etheridge, later by Kenyon and Mahoney, and in 1942 by myself. Cylcons were divided by Kenyon and Mahoney into four types, cylindrical, conical, cornute and phacoid, and I followed their classification. They are found along the Darling River Valley from Wentworth to Brewarrina, but the centre seems to have been an area between Wilcannia and Tilpa and north along the Paroo River to Goorimpa Station. Very few have been found below Pooncarie or above Brewarrina. They extend west into South Australia, but once past the watershed of the Darling River only odd specimens are found. The same applies to any

¹ This paper was read before Section F of the biennial meeting of the Australian and New Zealand Association for the Advancement of Science held at Hobart in January, 1949.



Fig. 1. Carved tree at Bonarway ceremonial ground, Barwon River, near Mogil Mogil.



Fig. 2. Rock paintings at Gundabooka, showing stencilled hand.

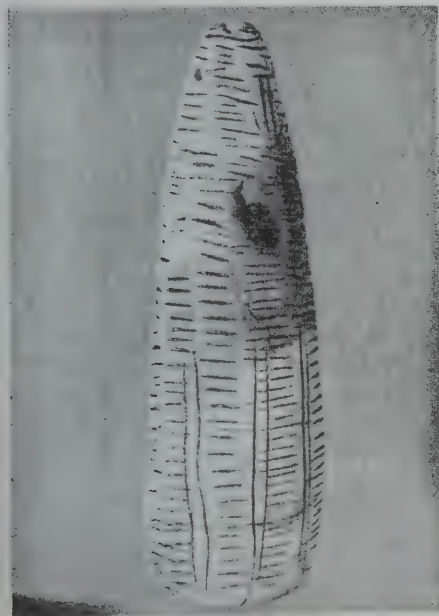


Fig. 3. Incised cylon, found on Wilga Station, near Wilcannia.

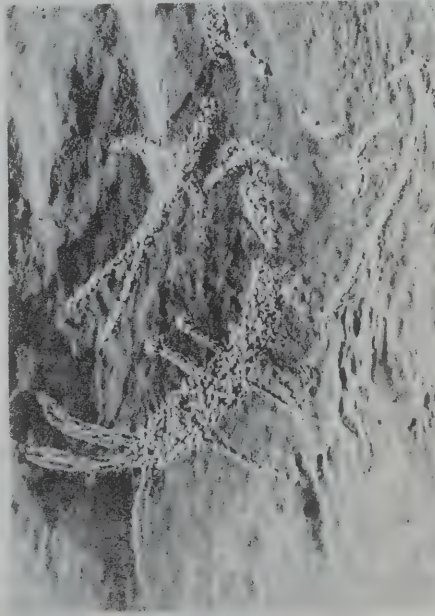


Fig. 4. Engraved rocks at Sturt's Meadows.

MATERIAL CULTURE OF THE DARLING RIVER VALLEY.

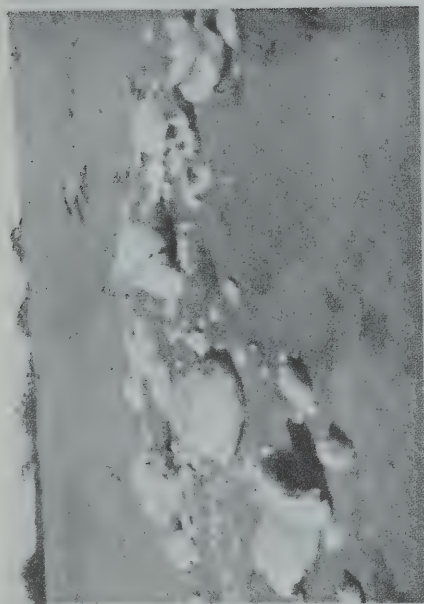


Fig. 6. Widows' Caps and Grave Markers shown in situ. Found at Yarrabul Lake, Cuthbert Station, Menindee



Fig. 7. Darling River at Yarrabul Lake, Cuthbert Station, Menindee. Photo by

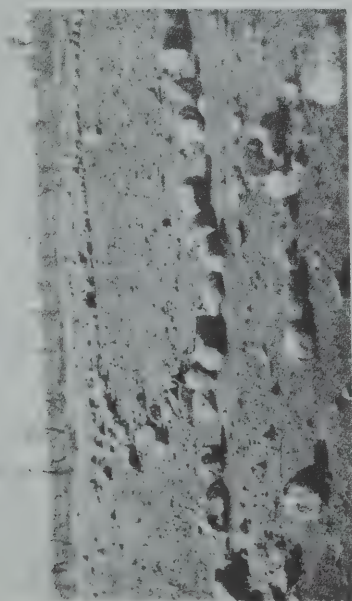


Fig. 5. Stone arrangement on Purnanga Station.



area more than 50 miles east of the Darling. It would appear that during wet seasons the Aborigines followed all the tributaries of the Darling but could go no further as they then came in contact with the dry belt which extends from the Murray to the Cooper on the west and on the east a very large dry area between the Darling and the Lachlan Rivers. The cylindrical and conical types are found over the whole of this area, but the phacoids are mostly confined to territory within 50 miles of Tilpa. The greatest number of cornutes are found in the Wilcannia district. I have found a greater percentage of the cornute type around Wongalarra Lake on Cultowa Station than in any other place. Many of the cylindricals and conicals are incised, but very few cornutes or phacoids. About 50% of all varieties have a cup at the base. In nearly all cases where phacoids are incised, it is along the short straight edge and the markings are like a laced shoe.

Widows' Caps. These objects were made from *kopi* or gypsum and were worn by the widows of a headman of a tribe and sometimes by other close relatives. The widows' hair was cut with a stone knife or burning stick and a net made from grass or some other material was placed over it; then layer after layer of this *kopi* material was plastered over the head. The period they were worn is not clear, as different times have been given by early observers. At various sections along the Darling, different types were used and some weighed up to 15 pounds. Along the lower Darling the widows simply sat beside the grave and placed lumps of *kopi* over their heads, thus forming very rough caps. In the Menindee district they were more neatly made, having the shape of a thick skull cap; layer after layer being plastered over a drying surface until they were about two inches thick. Above Wilcannia they were higher and extended about four or five inches over the skull. In the Tilpa South district many were high and had the appearance of a tall helmet. They extended up to nine inches above the head and were hollow. In order to attain this shape, grass or some other material was placed over the head and *kopi* plastered over the lot. I am not sure whether the caps were placed in the grave with the dead at burial, but am more inclined to believe they were placed on top of the grave. Those that I have found have all been mingled with the skeleton of the dead warrior. This could be accounted for by the windstorms blowing the sand away at one time and blowing it back at another. By this means both caps and skeleton come together. I have found as many as 16 caps at one grave.

Grave Markers. These are made from the same material as Widows' Caps. At a grave (described by the late Grahame Officer) found near Tilpa there were two rows of these markers, one above the other with the top row slightly overlapping. They were about one foot long, seven inches wide and four inches thick at the extremes. They were flattened at one side by the soft material resting on the ground immediately after being made and had the appearance of a baker's loaf before being placed in the oven. In the Menindee district, markers were much smaller, oval-shaped and about five inches long and two inches in diameter.

Grooved Axes. These are mostly found in the Wilcannia-Tilpa district and along the Paroo River. Nearly all are made from grey quartzite, but a few from diorite. Quartzite is found in the district but the diorite was traded from other tribes.

Stone Arrangements. These are rows of stones placed side by side forming circles, enclosures and various other arrangements. In this territory there are no large trees which could be incised or carved and used in the same way as in the Kamilaroi area except along the river bank. Along the Darling River Valley, stone arrangements are only found west of the Darling and Warrego Rivers and above a line drawn west from Wilcannia. On the K Tank

Station, about 20 miles north of Broken Hill, is the most southerly one known to the author. I have not heard of any others for at least 100 miles north of this one. A large one on Dunlop Station is the most easterly one known. The position of this one on Dunlop is about 40 miles west of the Warrego and 30 miles north of the Darling. C. C. Towle described a small one close to Warren in central N.S.W., but it only contained a few stones. Others have been located along the east coast. Stone arrangements extend across from N.S.W. into Queensland towards Cooper's Creek, but how far beyond the Cooper I do not know. Dr. Elkin, in his book *The Australian Aborigines*, shows a photograph, taken in North-West Australia, of a secret totem ground which is very similar to those found in the Darling River Valley. Another form of stone arrangement is the set of fish traps at Brewarrina. Here, on a natural sandstone bar across the river, are walls of stone forming enclosures in which fish were caught by the Aborigines. These walls and yards were laid out in such a manner that fish travelling down stream ahead of the muddy water in a rising stream entered the yards. The waiting Aborigines simply blocked up the gaps or gates and captured large quantities of fish. This is one of the few known instances of the Aborigines making any provision for the storage of food.

Stone Mounds. At many places in Australia observers have recorded stone mounds, and there are a few in the Darling River Valley, the largest set being at Koonawarra Station, about 100 miles north-east from Broken Hill, where there is a row of five. The largest I have seen is on K Tank Station and is about 40 feet long, 15 feet wide and about 6 feet high. Sir George Grey, on one of his trips through central Australia, described two mounds (*Sir George Grey's Travels*, Vol. I, p. 227). On Poolamacca Station, about 40 miles north from Broken Hill, are a number of small mounds in a group which are known to be graves, but those at Koonawarra are certainly ceremonial but no one has been able to give an explanation as to why they were made.

Engraved Rocks and Rock Paintings. At many places west of the Darling River are found rocks engraved in many designs, including animals, footmarks of animals and birds and various symbols. They are not actually engravings, but the rock is pitted to form the designs. Engravings are generally found on a flat rock surface such as at Sturt's Meadows Station, about 80 miles due north from Broken Hill, where there are acres of these engravings. There are no engraved rocks in the Darling River Valley east of the river, but rock paintings are found on both sides. I have never found engravings and paintings together, but they may only be a short distance apart, such as at Mootwingie and Koonawarra. Paintings are generally found on the walls of rock shelters rather than actual caves. Colours used are white, red, black and yellow. There are many designs including kangaroos, emus, human forms and various symbols. Paintings are found in an area between Wilcannia and Broken Hill and within a short distance from the Darling between Tilpa and Bourke on the east side with the most easterly at Gundabooka Range. Stencilled hands and, in a few instances, other designs such as boomerangs, tomahawks and in one case a lizard are found in the Darling River Valley. In all cases where there are paintings stencilled hands are found, but in some instances there are stencilled hands but no paintings.

Flaked Implements. To a degree, these are found over the whole area, but in many places they are very crude and scarce. The territory in which the finest specimens are found is an area between Wilcannia and the Queensland border along the Paroo River and west to South Australia. Suitable material was the first consideration, and in this territory, which is most prolific in this class of specimen, such material is plentiful. I will specially mention

pirries, as probably they are the finest chipped implements made by the Aborigines of south-eastern Australia. These are plentiful along the Paroo River from Moomba to Tonga Stations and west past Tibbooburra to South Australia. I have never found any *pirries* south of the Broken Hill-Menindee railway line and very few east of the Paroo River in this Darling River Valley. On a trip taken with R. T. M. Pescott and S. R. Mitchell, we specially hunted for this type of implement, commencing at Louth and travelling on the north side of the Darling to the Paroo River. We found one near Louth, none on Dunlop Station, and a few on Kallara, the total being less than a dozen after searching for three days east of the Paroo. I have never found any east of the Darling River and here all the flaked implements are very rough. There are more about Yancannia and Moomba Stations than any place I have seen in the Darling River Valley. They are fairly plentiful on Connulpie Downs and Yandama Stations, which are right in the north-west corner of N.S.W. In this area, where *pirries* are plentiful, the finest types of all flaked implements are found.

Carved Trees. Above Brewarrina it was the custom to carve or incise trees. Near this point is the boundary between the two great Darling River Valley tribes, the Barkinji and the Kamilaroi. The Kamilaroi carved or incised trees at ceremonial grounds and this custom extended to the Queensland border and as far south to a line drawn approximately from Cobar east to Warren then in a north-easterly direction to Coonamble then extending due east. South of this line was the Wiradjuri people, whose territory extended to the Murrumbidgee. The Wiradjuri also carved trees, but mostly at burial grounds. At ceremonial areas the carved designs were in many cases unlike those at burial grounds, but a great number were common to both, the greatest difference being that, at ceremonial grounds, the outline of human forms, snakes, lizards and animals are shown, but none of these appears at burial grounds. Again, at burial grounds there were generally only three trees, but as many as five have been found, and the grave was in the central position with the glyph facing the grave. At ceremonial grounds great numbers of trees were carved, and I have personally counted 82 at the Banarway area. In mentioning the Wiradjuri it would appear that I have departed from the Darling River. However, as mentioned above, this great river passes under different names as one travels towards Queensland, but it can rightly be called the Darling River Valley as the carved trees of the Kamilaroi and Wiradjuri are along the tributaries of the Darling, such as the Macquarie, Bogan and Namoi, but the Barwon is really the main river above Brewarrina. Between the Kamilaroi and Wiradjuri on the eastern side and the Barkinji on the west was another important tribe or nation called the Wonghibon. This Wonghibon tribe extended over a large area. The Lachlan was the only river in their territory and they do not appear to have left any especially interesting examples of their material culture. I think the shortage of permanent water in their territory made them really a tribe of little lasting importance.

I have made many trips through the Darling River Valley and nearly every time find some items of special interest, such as new ceremonial grounds, art galleries and stone mounds. I invariably add to my collection of cylcons. I feel that for a long time to come it will be a rich and prolific field for investigation. The Aborigines of the Darling River Valley were a fine race and it is indeed a calamity to see how few remain.

R. LINDSAY BLACK.

Australia : Linguistics.**Capell.**

Some Myths of the Garadjeri Tribe, Western Australia. By A. Capell, M.A., Ph.D., Reader, Department of Anthropology, University of Sydney. (Continued from Vol. IV, No. 2.)

TEXT III. ESTABLISHMENT OF MARRIAGE CLASSES.

1. *Balagud'ara marnjo muwar jindanabulad'anagu.* 2. *N'undu garimba, n'undu*
Those-two men speech they-two-talk-to-them. You Karimba, you
bal'eri, n'undu banaga, n'undu buruṇu. 3. *D'ando garimba bal'erigura, buruṇu*
Paldjeri you Panaga, you Burong. Wife Karimba of-Paldjeri, Burong
banagagura d'ando. 4. *Marnjo buruṇu, banaga d'ando.* 5. *Marnjo garimba, d'ando*
of-Panaga wife. Man Burong, Panaga wife. Man Karimba, wife
bal'eri. 6. *Ḑaḑu gaga buruṇu? Bal'eri. Guḑan' buruṇu, d'ābulu banaga.*
Paldjeri. Who uncle Burong? Paldjeri. Mother Burong, father Panaga.
7. *Jago bal'eri garimba d'ando, Banaga ḑaḑu.* 8. *Buruṇu garimbagu ḑaḑu.*
Husband Paldjeri, Karimba wife, Panaga wm. Burong for-Karimba wm.
9. *Buruṇu ḑaḑu garimbagu. Bal'eri ḑaḑu banagagu.*
Burong wm. for-Karimba. Paldjeri wm. for-Panaga.
10. *Mabu, jindanaḑa. Mulāl d'ugurul' ; d'ugurul', n'ura ṛawari.* 11. *Mabu n'ura.*
Good, they said. Not err; err, you die. Good you.
Ḑad'ugu n'anū muwar bina garia, mabu n'ura. N'irāni jālira. Ḑawai. 12. *N'ura*
Me-for if talk hear good you. After again. Yes. Good
mabu. Ḑuni jān'āril'a, waṛain jaraṇu gaḑi. 13. *Ḑawai, galaia au, galaia*
you. This-way we-two-go, another place to. Yes, then, all-right
n'unbula maṇḑi. 14. *D'aḑilu! Gaḑ'eri jārabula waṛain gaḑi ḡura.* 15. *Balabala*
you-two walk. Poor-fellows! Far they-two-go another to place. There
marnjo ba d'ando wandaḑa. Jārānibula. 16. *Ḑana n'ura jirāru? Ḑan'a mulāl*
men and women are. They-two come. What you names? We no
jirāru, ḡanan ḡan'a. 17. *Wandaḑa garibila. N'undu banaga, n'undu garimba, n'undu*
names, fools we. They-are standing. You Panaga, you, Karimba, you
bal'eri, n'undu buruṇu. 18. *Ḑawai. Waṛain gaḑi ḡura jān'āril'a, jindālgul'ad'anagu*
Paldjeri, you Burong. Yes. Another to place we-two-go, we-two-shall-tell-
ḡala muwar mabu. Mulāl d'gurul'! Ḑawai, mabu n'unbula. 19. *Galaia*
them then talk good. Not err! Yes, good you-two. Then
jārabula. Gumbār ḡan'anū waṛain marnjo. Gagamara muwar jindanu : 20. *Ḑana*
they-two-go. Gumbār saw other men. Gagamara said-to-him : What
gaḑ'a, babala? Wan'd'awan'd'a? Ḑunia garibila. Miṛa ḡān'iriḡalin'a.
is-it, brother? Where? This-way standing. He-is-looking-at-us-two.
21. *Warugu janguli ḡin'āḡga gaḑi, d'ai gulila. Wan'd'a d'āḡga marnjo*
Quickly let-us-two-go him to, we-shall-meet. Where at men
n'unbala? Ḑal'a Gagamara, Gumbār. Ḑan'a gala mabu. 22. *N'undu garimba,*
you-two? We-two Gagamara, Gumbār. We now good. You Karimba,
n'undu bal'eri, n'undu banaga, n'undu buruṇu. 23. *Ḑawai. Mulāl d'ugurul'! Galaia*
you Paldjeri, you Panaga, you Burong. Yes. Not err! Then
ḡal'a wuḑu marnjo guḑ'ara. 24. *Muwar n'uragura ḡal'ālu. Mabu. Ḑanan ḡan'a.*
we-two big men two. Talk yours we. Good. Foolish we.

- Ɓawai.* 25. *Ɓana ƙan'ariruru?* *Gui ba giribad'u ba.* 26. *Wai mai?* *Ɓawai.*
 Yes. What are-you-eating? Meat and honey and. ? food? Yes.
Galaia mai. *Mabu.* *Gui ba . . .* 27. *Ɓana gui?* *Bira d'anga.* *Wandaja.*
 Now food. Good. Meat and . . . What meat? Bush in. They are.
N'ura garimba, n'ura bal'eri, n'ura banaga, n'ura buruŋu. 28. *Jän'aril'a.* *Wan'd'a*
 You Karimba, you Paldjeri, you Panaga, you Burong. We-two-go. Where
gaði? *Gara d'urari gaði.* *Mira gangulein'a marŋo d'urari d'anga.*
 to? West sea to. We-shall-look-at men sea at.
 29. *Bala, d'ungu.* *Wuðu d'ungu, bulgun.* *Malu bala, marŋo ba d'ando.*
 There, fire. Big fire, smoke. Many there, men and women.
 30. *Janguli.* *Marŋo gud'ara bala jän'aribula.* *Ɓaðu gin'angud'ara?* *ŋal'a*
 Let-us-two-go. Men two there they-come. Who those-two? We-two
Gagamara, Gumbar. 31. *Mabu n'umbala, järänibulani.* *Nad'a gui, wilar,*
Gagamara (and) Gumbar. Good you-two, come-along. Here meat, turtle,
warain gui . . . 32. *Nanguru miranu.* *Ɓana n'ura?* *Ɓan'a N'aŋumara.* *Miranu*
 other meat . . . They clever. What you? We Njangumada. Clever
gin'angaranu. *Wai n'ura miranu?* *Ɓawai, ƙan'a miranu.* 33. *Nad'a banaga,*
 those. ? you clever? Yes, we clever. Here Panaga,
garimba, bal'eri, buruŋu. 34. *Gala, d'ando ƙad'ugura buruŋu . . .*
Karimba, Paldjeri, Burong. Now, wife my Burong . . .
 35. *Maŋdi jän'aril'a.* *Gala järabula.* *Wan'd'a gaði?* *Ɓunia, gara,*
 Walking we-two-go. They go. Where to? This way, west,
Gudanbari. 36. *Ɓawai, mabu.* *N'awa, babala, wangu.* *Wan'd'a?* *Balaia.*
 (to) Gudanbari. Yes, good. See, brother, a stone. Where? There.
Gudanbari! *Ɓana nad'a?* *D'id'ili d'anga.* 37. *Gangura garibula gin'angud'ara.*
 (It is) Gudanbari. What here? Djidjili at. Up stand they-two.
Ɓura mira gan'aribula. *Badu.* *Wan'd'a gaði janguli, babala?* *Gara*
 Country they-two-look-at. (It is) Badu. Where to shall-we-two-go, brother? West
janguli, Gulan'gulan'a. 38. *Wan'd'a?* *Mira ga gara.* *Gan'd'ina, wuðu*
 let-us-two-go, (to) Gulanjgulanja. Where? Look west. Gandjina, big
miamari. *Wan'd'a gaði janguli?* *Gul'a, gangura.* *Wangu gangura.* 39. *Gul'a*
 hill. Where to shall-we-two-go? South, up. Stone on-top. South
janguli. *Ɓuni gaði gumbara.* *Baramiri marŋo ba d'ando wanadaja.*
 let-us-two-go. Hither to rock. Perhaps men and women are.
 40. *Balabala gud'ara marŋo gui d'ingaribula.* *Wan'd'anga?* *Bala*
 There two men, kangaroo they-are-killing. Where? There
bundunga. 41. *Janguli.* *D'aigulibulagu.* *Ɓawai.* *Baramiri guli d'aðu*
 on-the-plain. Let-us-two-go (and) meet-them-too. Yes. Perhaps angry
gin'angud'ara? 42. *D'angu janguli.* *Balabala marŋo jän'aribula.* *Gud'ara.*
 those-two? Let-us-two-take-care. There men (two) are-coming Two.
Wan'd'a d'anga? *Walan'u.* 43. *Ɓaðu n'umbala?* *Ɓal'a banaga, buruŋu.* *Wan'd'a*
 Where at? Strangers. Who you-two? We-two Panaga, Burong. Where
d'anga ƙura? *Gangura nad'a ƙura ƙal'agura.* *Ɓawai.* 44. *Ɓana n'ura?*
 at country? Up here country of-us-two. Yes. What you?
Muwar ƙana? *Ɓa-la.* *Mabu n'ura?* *Mabu ƙan'a.* 45. *Ɓaðu gud'ara n'umbala?*

Language what? Nga:la. Good you? Good we. Who two you-two?
Ŋal'a Gagamara ba Gumbar. D'ābulu n'umbala? Banaga, jindan. 46. *N'umbala*
 We-two Gagamara and Gumbar. Fathers-you-two? Panaga, he-says. You-two
gaga. Mabu. N'umbala miṛanu. Wan'd'a wanqdi walibi n'uragu? Ŋunia, bala
 uncles. Good. You-two clever. Where is camp-to-you? This way, there
wubadunḡa niamari. 47. *D'ando balaia wanadaja. Wai marḡo? Mulāl, ḡal'a*
 on-little hill. Women there are. ? Men? No, we-two
gud'ara marḡo. 48. *Malu d'ando, banaga, buruḡu, bal'eri, garimba d'ando.*
 two men. Plenty women, Panaga, Burong, Paldjeri, Karimba women.
Jāngun'a walibi gaḡi. 49. *D'ando jindaja, Wan'd'a d'anya marḡo? Gaga ba*
 Let-us-go camp to. Women say, Where at men? Uncle and
d'ābulu, Gagamara, Gumbar jirāru. 50. *Wan'd'a ḡuru? Gad'eri ḡuru ḡura.*
 father, Gagamara, Gumbar names. Where from? Far from country.
Gulban'āribula Gagamara ba Gumbar. Ŋawai, mabu. 51. *Wambar*
 They-two-are-returning Gagamara and Gumbar. Yes, good. Hungry
ḡan'āribula? Nad'a mai. Juwara bilin'āra. 52. *Nanguru ḡui, mulāl giribad'u.*
 eat-they-two? Here food. Keep it all. Those meat, no honey.
Gala, mabu. Mir ḡal'agu. Nad'a gabali n'umbalagura, nanguru nad'a gud'ara.
 So, good. Full to-us-two. Here wives of-you-two, those here two.
 53. *Ŋawai, nad'a n'umbalagura woba. Nad'a gudain n'umbalagura.* 54. *Nad'a*
 Yes, here your-two child. Here mothers of-you-two. Here
gaḡudu, nad'a gami. Nanguru gabaḡi. Bala gud'aralu muwar jindaribula.
 grandfather here grandmother. Those wives. There two are-talking.
 55. *Mabu, gul'a jāngun'a ḡala ḡal'agura gaḡi ḡura. Gala, mabu.*
 Good, south let-us-go then our-two to country. So, good.

Translation.

1. The two men were speaking to (another group of people). 2. "You are Karimba, you are Paldjeri, you are Panaga, you are Burong." 3. A Karimba woman is wife of a Paldjeri, a Burong of a Panaga. 4. If the man is Burong, the woman will be Panaga. 5. If the man is Karimba, the woman will be Paldjeri. 6. Who is uncle of a Burong? A Paldjeri. If the mother is Burong, the father is Panaga. 7. If the husband is Paldjeri, the wife is Karimba, the mother-in-law will be Panaga. 8. A Burong woman is mother-in-law to a Karimba man. 9. A Paldjeri is mother-in-law to a Panaga man. "Good," they said. "Don't make any mistake" (said the brothers). "If you make mistakes, you will die." 11. You are good fellows. If you listen to what I say you are good fellows. And no back again. "All right." 12. "You are good fellows. We are going this way, to another place." 13. "All right, then," said the others, "All right, off you-two-go." 14. (So the brothers went off, and the others looking at them, said), "Poor fellows, they-two are going a long way to another country."

15. There are men and women there. The two (brothers) come along. 16. "What are your names?" (they ask the group). "We have no names" (they reply), "we are foolish people." 17. They stand still (and the Brothers say), "You are Panaga, you are Karimba, you are Paldjeri, you are Burong." 18. "All right" (is the reply). "We are going to another country" (say the brothers). "We shall tell them (there also), and then

their talk will be good. Don't you make any mistakes ! " " All right " (answer the men), " you-two are good fellows." 19. So the two go off. Gumbur saw another man. 20. Gagamara said to him, " What is it, brother ? Whereabout ? " " Standing over there " (said Gumbur), looking at us-two. 21. " Let us go quickly to him and meet him." (When they met, the man said), " What men are you two ? " " We are Gagamara and Gumbur " (they answered). " We are good people."⁸ 22. " You " (said the brothers) are Karimba, you Paldjeri, you Panaga, you Burong." 23. " Yes " (they replied). " Now don't make any mistakes about it ! " (warned the brothers), " you know we are two big men (i.e. important men). 24. We know your talk." " Good. We are uninstructed." " Yes, you are." 25. " What are you eating ? " (continued the brothers). " Meat and honey." 26. " Have you any (vegetable) food ? " " Yes, there is (vegetable) food." " Good " (said the brothers). " There's meat (repeated the men) and . . ." 27. " What meat ? " " It's in the bush " (they said). " There it is." " You fellows " (said the brothers) " are Karimba, you others Paldjeri, you Panaga, you Burong. 28. Now we are going away." " Where to ? " " Westwards, towards the sea " (replied the brothers). " We are going to see the people along the coast."

29. (As the two went on, one cried out), " There, fire ! A big fire, and smoke. There are plenty of men there, men and women. 30. Let us two go." The two men arrive there. " Who are those two ? " (ask the men). " We are Gagamara and Gumbur " (was the reply), 31. " You two are good fellows, come along in. Here is meat for you—turtle and other meat . . ." 32. (Then amongst themselves), " They are clever men." " What are you people ? " (asked the brothers). " We are Njangumada " (was the answer). " They are clever people. Are fellows clever ? " " Yes, we are clever. 33. Here is a Panaga, here a Karimba, here a Paldjeri, here a Burong. 34. Now, my wife is Burong . . ." (and so on, said the men).

35. (Then said the two brothers) : " We are going on." " Good-bye, then, where are you going ? " " Over here, westwards to Gudangbari." 36. " All right, then." (Off they both go, and bye and bye one says), " See, brother, a stone." " Where ? " " There " (pointing). " That's Gudangbari." " What is there here ? " (asked the other brother). " That is at Djidjili." 37. The two of them are standing on top, looking about at the country. " That's Badu " (says one). " Which way shall we go, brother ? " " Let us go west to Gulanjulanja." 38. " Where is it ? " (asked the other). " Look over to the west " (replied the brother). " That big (sand) hill is Gandjina. Now where shall we go ? " " Southwards, upwards, up on the stone (hill)." 39. " Very well, let us go south, to this rock across here. There may be men and women." 40. " There are two men, hunting kangaroos " (said one of the brothers). " Where are they ? " " There on the plain." 41. " Let us go and meet them." " All right, then. But suppose they are savage ? " 42. " We must just take care about that ! " (The other two men notice them and say to each other), " There are men coming, two of them." " Where are they ? " " They are strangers." 43. (On the brothers' arrival they ask), " Who are you-two ? " " We-two are Panaga and Burong." " Of what country ? " " This is our country, up here " (answer the two hunters). 44. " Oh ! What are you ? " (ask the brothers), " What language ? " " Nga:la." " Are your people good (i.e. instructed) ? " " We are instructed. 45. And who may you-two be ? " " We are

⁸ Apparently other men come and join the first speaker, as *ngana*, " we (excl.) " is now used, but the fact is not mentioned. It is implied by the two brothers' next remark.

Gagamara and Gumbar." "Are you fathers" (they are asked). "We are Panaga," replies one. 46. "Then you-two are uncles." "Good. You-two are clever men. Where is your people's camp?" "It's across here on that little hillock. 47. There are women there." "Are there men?" (ask the brothers). "No" (the other two answer), "We are the only two men. 48. There are plenty of women, Panaga, Burong, Paldjeri and Karimba women. Let's all go to the camp." 49. (As they see them approaching) the women say, "What are these men?" (and the two hunters reply), "Uncle and father; Gagamara and Gumbar are their names." 50. "Where do they come from?" (ask the women). "They come from a far country. Gagamara and Gumbar are returning." "Oh, that's good. 51. Are they hungry? Here is (vegetable) food. Keep it all." 52. The people have meat, but no honey. (After eating, the brothers say), "So, that was good. Now we are full." (The others tell them). "Here are wives for you-two, these two just here. 53. Yes, and here are children for you. Here are mothers for you. 54. Here grandfathers, here grandmothers. That lot are wives." Those two are talking. 55. "Good; then let us all go south to the country of us-two" (say the brothers). "All right, good" (is the answer).

Notes.

This text is more straightforward than the other two, but still a good deal has to be supplied in brackets in the translation. The two brothers themselves have the section system and simply go about from place to place, in a predominantly south-western direction, imposing it by their own fiat on others, when they find it is not known already. It appears to be already known to most of the Njangumada and Nga:la tribes.⁹ As these lie in the direction of the brothers' presumed journey, and already have the sections, the story becomes rather strange.

Sections 1-9 of the story are a general statement of the section system. In actual narration the informant here went off on to his own section relationships and had to be brought back to the story. The terms *mabu* (good), *miranu* (clever) as against *nanan* (foolish) are used throughout the text practically as technical terms, "instructed," "holding the proper marriage system," as against "raw," "uninstructed," "breaking the marriage laws." So in 16, *nan'a muläl jiräru*, "we have no names," does not refer to personal names, but to section names. Incidentally, in this case no tribal name is asked for or given, either. On the other hand, the man spoken to in 22 volunteers the information that his people are already "good." Compare 32, where the Njangumada make the same claim to have knowledge already. It is apparently they themselves who do the cataloguing in 33. 35 is the usual native method of saying good-bye. "We are going now." "All right, then, go." It is not meant as abruptly as it sounds. The same rule holds in the Northern Kimberlies. Gudangbari, Djidjili and Gandjina are not found in Dr. Elkin's map, but Badu is given as a horde-country, well inland from La Grange.¹⁰ It looks as though the brothers are conceived as coming from the direction of Mangala country. Unfortunately I was not able to collect

⁹ The Njangumada country lies south-west of Garadjeri country, from about Anna Plains to the De Grey River. The Nga:la occupy the other side of the De Grey, along the coast, with the Njamal on their inland side. For the former, see Mrs. D. Bates, "Social Organization of Some Western Australian Tribes," *Austr. Assoc. Adv. Sci.*, XIV, and A. R. Radcliffe-Brown, "The Distribution of Native Tribes in Part of Western Australia", *Man*, 1912, No. 12. The same sources serve for the Nga:la.

¹⁰ See *Studies in Australian Totemism*, p. 23. *Badu* is No. 24 on the map and in the list of horde-countries.

Mangala myths. The remainder of the text is grammatically straightforward. The only question remaining, viz. what are Njangumada and Nga:la doing so far out of their own territories? is not answerable. It is rather interesting that at the end the two brothers take all the other party back to their own (the brothers') country, but the text seems quite definite on this.

The fourth text deals with the establishment of Increase Rites. The rite itself is called *naŋn'in* in both the Garadjeri and the Jauor languages. *Naŋn'ina* is given by Dr. Elkin as the Njul-njul for "increase song" in "Studies in Australian Totemism," *Oceania Monograph* No. 2, p. 50. See further notes on the Jauor ideas in the appendix to this paper. The talu-site is called *baluga*, and in the plural as in the text *balugaraŋu*. The culture hero Ngurudjâwuru will reappear in a later text.

TEXT IV. ESTABLISHMENT OF INCREASE RITES.

1. *Gagamara ba Gumbar jinbalajala balugaraŋu gui gura.* 2. *Naŋn'in maŋu*
Gagamara and Gumbar ordained talu-sites kangaroo of. Rites made
- Ŋurud'âwuru. Jindaŋu : ŋawai. D'ind'âlgurin ŋura ŋad'ugura nad'a.* 3. *Wan'd'a*
Ngurudjâwuru. He said: Yes. Djindjâlgurin country my this. Where
- jinban ŋala naŋn'in?* Jinban ŋala guigu. *D'urar d'angagu gui.* 4. *Bala*
shall I fix them rites? I-shall-fix them meat-for. Sea at-for meat. He
- miŋa gâŋ'iri gui. Ŋuni jâra, ŋuni wubaðu muŋi.* 5. *Bi:ri, n'undulu*
sees meat. This way he goes, this-way little creek. Bi:ri, you
- miŋa ga; n'irâni d'angagu marŋo ba d'ando. Nad'a gui gin'ânga garangura,*
look; behind at-for men and women. Here meat it belonging-to-west.
- Wanguru d'anga, ŋaba ŋuru d'anga.* 6. *Ŋawai. (Malumalu ŋura jirâru). Ŋuni (*
Wanguru d'anga, ŋaba ŋuru d'anga. 6. *Ŋawai. (Malumalu ŋura jirâru). Ŋuni gad'a*
Wanguru at, water from in. Yes. Malumalu place name. Hither (is)
magur, wiðiri mala gui gangara, buðada gaði ŋura. 7. *Balaia, n'undugura miðad'a.*
road, drag meat above, dry to place. There your look.
- Ŋana бага? Bandarayu, n'undugu wulguru.* 8. *Ŋawai. Miŋgin, ŋad'u rawari*
What tree? Bandarayu, you-for shade. Yes. Wait, I die
- jâlira, n'undu n'irâni. N'undu waŋalaŋu.* 9. *Bi:ri jindaŋu : ŋawai. Nad'a gui*
before, you after. You youth. Bi:ri said: yes. Here meat
- baŋanu, biriga muruwaran. Gala jirâru ŋura, balaia muŋi Gaidgada.* 10. *Nad'a*
salmon, biriga, muruwaran. Now name country, that creek Gaidgada. Here
- gui, malu gui nad'anga ŋura. Naŋn'in d'anga d'iri.* 11. *Ŋawai, gala mabu.*
meat, plenty meat in-here country. Rite in Yes, then good.
- Garŋir, jirâru gin'ânga Gaoganâmbi.* 12. *Ŋaðugura? D'änmän'ilagura, buruŋu, d'ando*
Garnir, name that-one Gaiganâmbi. Whose? Djänmänjila's, Burong, woman
- Badagan.* 13. *Gui ŋalgun'a ŋanar. Ŋana warain? Birgaðin'a. Mabu gui.*
Badagan. Meat let us eat porpoise. What else? Dugong. Good meat.
14. *Mulan'nga maŋa. Ŋana ŋura? Lambirmarðad'i, Mulan'gura.*
At Mulang sits. What country? Lambirmardadji, belonging-to-Mulanj.
15. *Muluŋul ŋuru juguru, marŋo ba d'ando, Guridi jirâru balagu-d'aragura, marŋo*
Mulungul from dog, male and female, Guridi name of-them-two, male

- Baljeri, d'ando Garimba.* 16. *Ganiŋ ɲuraŋga jän'äri ɲuni ɲuru, garibila*
Paldjeri, female Karimba. Under in-ground he-goes hither from, stand
garin'äribula gangara Migiganga. 17. *Wan'd'a ɲura nad'a?* *Guimbina, lani*
they-two-do above at-Migiga. Where country here? *Guimbina, close*
Migiga. Juguru d'ando wobabari. 18. *Jära ɲaba n'awa ɲaligura.* *ɲawai.*
Migiga. Dog female pregnant. Go water look for-us-two. Yes.
19. *Wanadaja marŋo wulguru. ɲananga?* *Digil.* 20. *Galagala nad'a lani*
Are men shade. At-what? *Bahenia-tree.* Then here close
ɲura ɲabagura. 21. *Wai ɲaba?* *Nad'a lani ɲaba. Gunguɲarala d'andogu*
place of-water. ? water. Here close water. I'll-bring-for-her for-woman
nad'anga binga. 22. *Gala ganguɲarala ɲaba. Walga d'äri. Warugu, wai wanadin,*
in-this conch. Then I'll-bring-her water. Thirsty she-is. Quick, ? are-you,
d'ando? *Gala wanann'a.* 23. *Mabu. Nad'a ɲaba n'undugu. Binganga gan'an'a.*
woman? Now I-am. Good. Here water for-you. In-conch I-have-it.
Gala mabu n'undu. 24. *Gäräl'arin?* *ɲawai. Gäräl'a ɲad'u. Gala janguli;*
Then good you. Are-you-cold? Yes. Cold I-am. Then let-us-two-go;
ɲura muläl gad'eri, lani Migiga, ɲaba ɲuni wanadi niamaringa. ɲananga
place not far, close Migiga, water this-way is on-hill. In-what
wulguru? 25. *Bandaraŋu. Mabu ɲaligura ɲura. Wai mai wanadi? Malu*
shade? *Bandaraŋu-tree.* Good our-two place. ? food is? Plenty
wanadi mai järin'äri ɲuraŋga. 26. *Jani malguli mai. Wambar ɲali. ɲawai.*
is food nalgo in-place. Let-us-two-make food. Hungry we-two. Yes.
Wai n'undu guigu jängun? *Wan'd'a gaði?* *Bala d'urar gaði. ɲana gui?*
? you for-meal going? Where to? There sea to. What meat.
ɲanar. 27. *Gala ganguna gangara walibi gaði. ɲananga?* *Gundid'inanga.*
Porpoise. Then I'll-bring-it up camp to. With-what? On-shoulder.
28. *ɲana gui balaia?* *ɲanar. Mabu n'undu marŋo. Wan'd'ar gad'a?* *Mingin,*
What meat there? Porpoise. Good you man. How (is it)? Wait,
wanadaja. 29. *ɲana?* *Nad'a. ɲana bala binga?* *Wirbinya wubadu d'anga.*
they-are. What? Here. What that conch? I'll cut it little in.
30. *D'unŋu bunala, wudu d'unŋu. Wai d'unŋu bo: d'a:la?* *Gala bo: d'an'au.*
Fire make-for-it, big fire. ? fire blow? Now I am blowing it.
Gala gamban'äri d'unŋu. 31. *Mingin, d'unŋunga d'änŋa. ɲana bin'indäri?* *Gala*
Now is-burning fire. Wait, on fire I'll-put-it. What fat? Then
ɲaligura mabu gui, marŋo. ɲawai. 32. *Gala ɲalguli. Gabu. Gala mabu,*
our-two good meat, man. Yes. Then let-us-two-eat. Cut. Now good,
mabumabu gui ɲaligura. 33. *Nad'a waragain ɲanar, nad'a nilän mabu.* 34. *Wai*
very-good meat of-us-two. Here skin (of) porpoise, here flesh good. ?
mira gawa ɲura, marŋo jän'araja? *ɲawai. Nad'a wanann'a niamaringa.* 35. *Gui*
Look country, men coming? Yes. Here I am on-hill. Meat
gambann'a, jindaru marŋulu. Balabala jän'äri Windiririga ɲuru. Wan'd'awa'nd'a
I-am-cooking, said man. That-one comes Windir from. Where
jän'äri? 36. *Nad'a jän'äribula gul'ayu. Wan'd'awan'd'a?* *ɲadu?* *D'äbulu?*
he-comes? Here two-come south. Where? Who? Father?
Wan'd'a d'anga ɲura? 37. *Wanguɲu Madad'i. Wai jiräru?* *Manguɲu ba*

Where at country? Wanguru Madadji. ? names? Mangul and Gan'igan'i. Wan'd'a? Juguru. Duni d'anga, gagara. Mulu d'anga nura. Ganjiganji. Where? Dogs. This-way at, east. Mulu at country. Jāranibula lani. 38. Gagaraṇu jān'ārili. Wai gui? Nad'a They-two-are-coming close. East we-two-are-going. ? meat? Here ṇanar n'umbalagu. Wai laia? Mabū. Galaia, gui Ḍan'd'oro. 39. Wan'd'a gaḍi porpoise for-you-two. ? fat? Good. Now, meat we. Where to n'umbala jāngānbula? Ḍuninga. Wandugujāl'a Malamala. 40. Ḍawai, you-two will-go? This-way-at. We-two-will camp (at) Malamala. Yes, gul'a ṇuni, jindāribulagu. Wan'd'a Bi:ri? Gagara wanadi, Rola. south this-way, he-said-to-them-two. Where Bi:ri? East he-is (at) Rola.

Translation.

1. Gagamara and Gumbar ordained increase-sites. 2. (Then) Ngurudjāwuru instituted the rites. He said, "All right, now; this is my country, Djindjālgurin. 3. Where now shall I fix the increase rites? I shall establish them for meat-food,¹¹ that is derived from the sea. 4. He sees a (marine) animal. He goes this way, where there is a little creek. 5. "Bi:ri," he says, "You look, there are men and women behind us. Here is meat-food belonging to west, from the water at Wanguru." 6. "All right," said Bi:ri. (Malumalu is the name of the place.) "Here is a track" (went on Ngurudjāwuru) "Drag the meat up to a dry place. 7. There, where you are looking." "What tree is that?" asked Bi:ri. A bandararu tree, shade for you (to sit in)." "Yes" (said Bi:ri). 8. "Wait now" (resumed Ngurudjāwuru), "I shall die before you do; you are only a youth." 9. And Bi:ri answered, "Yes, that's so." "Here is fish" (said the other), salmon, biriga and muruwaran. Now the name of the country over there is Gaidgada Creek. 10. There is meat here, plenty of meat in this country. In the increase rite . . . "(text doubtful for next word)." "Yes," (said Bi:ri). "Then that's all right." "There's Garnir, the name of that one is Gaiganāmbi." 12. "Whose (country)?" "Djānmānjila's a Burong man; his wife is Badagan. 13. Now let us two eat porpoise meat." "What else is there?" "Dugong." "That's good meat!" 14. They sit at Mulanj. "What is the country?" (asks Bi:ri). "This is Lambirmardadji, part of Mulanj."

15. From Mulungul there came dogs, man and woman, both named Guridi. The man was Paldjeri, the woman Karimba. 16. They came along underground in this direction, and came up to the surface at Migiga. 17. "What country is this here?" (said one). "This is Guimbina, close to Migiga." Now the woman dog was pregnant. 18. "Now you go and get water for us-two" (she said to her husband). "All right. 19. There are some men in the shade." "What shade?" "That bahenia tree." 20. "Then there must be water close to this spot." "Is there any water about?" (he asks the men). 21. "There is water close here." "I'm going to bring some for my wife in this conch. 22. I'm going to get her some water. She is thirsty." (He comes back with water and calls out), "Are you there, wife?" "Here I am." 23. "Good. Here's some water for you. I've got it in the conch." "You are so good." 24. "Are you cold?" (he asks her). "Yes, I am cold." "Well, then, let us move on; there's a place not far away, near Migiga. There is water

¹¹ See note on II.6 for the ambiguity of the word *gui*, "meat food." This ambiguity is important in this text.

over here on the (sand) hill." "Where is there shade?" 25. "Under that *bandarayu* tree. It will be a good place for us." (They go across to the place, and the woman asks), "Is there (vegetable) food here?" "There is plenty of *nalgo* for food here in the place." 26. "Then let us prepare some food; we are both hungry." "Yes, all right." "Are you going for meat?" (asks the wife). "Where shall I go?" "Down to the salt water there." "What sort of food?" "Porpoise." 27. "All right" (he replies), "I'll bring it back up to the camp." "In what?" "On my shoulder." (He goes off and catches some porpoise and returns.) 28. "What food have you good there?" (asks the wife). "Porpoise." "You good man. How is it?" "Wait, here they are." 29. "What?" "Here." "What is that conch?" "I'll cut it in little pieces. 30. You make a fire for it, a good big fire. Are you going to blow the fire?" "Yes" (says the woman), "I'll blow it. There, now it is burning." 31. "Hold on, I'll put (the fish) on the fire." "What fat is there?" (He shows her that it is a fat porpoise.) "Oh, then" (she says), "that's splendid meat for us two, my man." "Yes." 32. "Then us eat. You cut it." "Good, now, very good meat for us two." 33. "Here's the skin of the porpoise, here is good flesh." (After a pause, during which they eat.) 34. "Will you just look, are those men coming?" "Yes." 35. "And here I am on a hill, cooking meat" (said the man (dog)). "There comes one fellow, from the direction of Windiri." "Which way is he coming?" (asks the wife). 36. "There are two of them this way, coming south." "Whereabout?" "Who is it? Father?" "What country?" 37. "Wanguru Madadji." "What are their names?" "They are Mangul and Ganjiganji." "Where are they?" (asks the wife). "The dogs?" "This way, east, at Mulu country. They two are coming close." 38. "We two are going east. Have you meat?" (he asks the two newcomers). "Here is some porpoise for you two." "Is there any fat?" (they ask). "Good" (they say on receiving some). "Now we all have meat. 39. Where are you two making for?" "This way. We shall camp at Malamala." 40. "Yes, this way, south," the two tell the others. Where is Bi-ri? He is staying east, at Rola.

Notes.

This text is interesting, but has its difficulties, chiefly in the correct assignment of parts to the various speakers. Moreover, the two brothers appear to have been dragged in rather willy-nilly; beyond the choice of sites they have nothing to do with the story. The actual arrangement of the rites rests with Ngurudjåwuru. The explanation probably is that the narrator has taken the case of the porpoise rite as typical, and that the real assignment was in his mind attributed to Gagamara and Gumbar. The story breaks up into two parts, that of Ngurudjåwuru and Bi-ri, and that of the two dogs. The last sentence appears rather in the nature of an "editorial." In 2, Djindjålgurin country is No. 15 on Dr. Elkin's map (the name is given with the locative supplement *-d'a*), practically the site of La Grange Government Station. Both Ngurudjåwuru and Bi-ri appear again in the next text, again in connection with the two brothers. 6. *Wanguru* is Wangur, No. 17 on Dr. Elkin's map. In both 3 and 5 there is the same peculiar grammatical construction, viz. use of *-gu* after other supplements to object-words. In 3, *d'urar d'a-nga-gu*, lit. sea at-in-for, suggests that the phrase *d'urar-d'a-nga* is being treated as a single unit, to which *-gu* is added qualifying the whole, which in its turn depends on *gui* following, "for the food to-be-found-in-the-sea." Garadjeri normally adds the qualifying supplement to the first element of a group in this

way. 7. *Bandarayu* is the name of a tree I was not able to identify. The same applies to the fish *biriga* and *muruwaran* in 9. 10. *Nayn'in d'anga d'iri* is incorrect transcription, and cannot be made out; but the whole idea from 8 to 10 is that Ngurudjåwuru tells Bi:ri that as he is the younger man, likely to live the longer, he had better know how to carry on the rites. The places in 14 are not on the map.

15 changes to the story of the two dogs, who, apparently, are at the same time men, in the genuine manner of culture heroes. The interesting point here is that the informant explained that Ngurudjåwuru was Paldjeri, while apparently the porpoise increase rite is the property of the Burong-Karimba moiety.¹² The two dogs were Paldjeri (the male) and Karimba (the female) respectively. 16. A passage underground is a common feature of these tales, and recurs in Northern Kimberley myths as well as in Central Australia. 17. *Woba-bari* may be either "pregnant" or "possessing a child." See *-bari*, Suppl. A. 1, and *woba*, child. 31. *bin'indāri*, "fat," is a descriptive, and in 38 *laia*, "fat," a noun. 35. *Windiri* is unidentified. The assignment of speaking parts from here to the end is very difficult. 37. *Wanguru Madad'i* looks like No. 31 on Dr. Elkin's map, there spelled Wundurmadadji, but its position, in the far south of Garadjeri territory, is difficult. 40. *Ro:la*, the old Rollah Downs Station, No. 22 on Dr. Elkin's map, and mentioned also in other texts.

For further notes on the actual porpoise-increase rite, see Piddington, "Totemic System of the Karadjeri Tribe," *Oceania*, Vol. II, No. 4, pp. 388-389. His myth is different, however; the leading character, Gadagudi, occurs in Text V below. His son's name, Badu, has already occurred in Text III, 37, as a place name.

In the next text is contained the concluding story of the two brothers. In this they are already dead, and living in *d'ilba*, the Magellanic clouds. But though dead they are still active, and in this instance their activities are turned against the two culture-heroes mentioned in the preceding text, viz. Ngurudjåwuru and Bi:ri.

TEXT V. FURTHER TRAVELS OF THE TWO BROTHERS.

1. *Gud'ara Gagamara ba Gumbar d'ilbanga wandibula gangara.* 2. *Gagamara*
Two *Gagamara* and *Gumbar* in *Djilba* lived above. *Gagamara*
yandayū. Miṛa gaṇulbula Durud'awuru. 3. *D'ingalguli. Wai*
hit. They-two-had-been-looking-at Ngurudjåwuru. Let-us-two-hit-him. Eh
n'undu, babāḷa? d'ābira maṇura Gumbar. 4. *Ḍanalu d'ingalguli?*
you, brother? answered Gumbar. With-what shall-we-two-hit?
Birimal'u d'ingalguli. 5. *Galaia d'irb ḡalu ganiṇ ḡurḡaga d'irb.*
With *birimal* let-us-two-hit. These hurled belly down on-ground hurled.
Jandaṇubula, mulāl garibila. 6. *Waḍau! Ḍana d'anga n'unbula? Mulāl n'undu wuḍu*
They two hit, not stand. Oh! What at you-two? Not you big
maṇḡo. Ḍana n'undu maṇḡo jirāru? 7. *Ḍad'u Durud'awuru. Wan'd'a d'anga*
man. What you man name? I Ngurudjåwuru. Where at
ḡura? Ḍad'ugura ḡura Migiga. 8. *Gagamara ba Gumbar jindanbula:*
country? My country Migiga. *Gagamara* and *Gumbar* say:
Galaia wanadaja. Jān'āril'a, gala n'undu ṛawari n'irāni. 9. *Waṛain*
There-stay (i.e. "good-bye"). We-two-go and you die after. Another

¹² See A. P. Elkin, *Totemism in North-western Australia*, p. 32.

marŋo Bi:ri, jän'äri garanŋu. Miŋa gän'iribula. 10. Ŋaɖu guɖ'ara n'umbala?
 man, Bi:ri, comes from-west. They two see him. Who two you-two?
Gagamara ba Gumbar. D'ingann'umbula Ŋurud'awuru, ŋan'd'orogu marŋo. 11. Muläl
 Gagamara and Gumbar. You-two-hit Ngurudjawuru, our man. Not
n'undu guli d'aɖu. Ŋaɖu n'undu marŋo? Bi:ri. 12. Wan'd'a ŋura n'undu?
 you angry. Who you man? Bi:ri. Where country you?
Ŋad'ugura ŋura nad'a. D'ando ŋad'ugura Gal'äli. 13. Gumbarnu Gagamara
 My country here. Wife my Galjäl. Gumbar and Gagamara
jindanubula, Gala wanadja. 14. Ŋuni Bi:ri jindanbulagu: Wanguru gaɖi
 say, "Good-bye." This-way Bi:ri says-to-them-two.: Wanguru to
järabula; marŋo ba d'ando wanadaja malu, mabu marŋo ba d'ando. 15. Muläl
 go; men and women are plenty, good men and women. Not
guli d'aɖu.
 angry.

16. *Bala marŋo guɖ'ara jän'äribula. Jan'd'aŋu balabala wanadaja. 17. Babala*
 There men two go. From-north there they are. Brother,
jänguli warugu. Wan'd'a n'umbala d'anga? Ŋal'a Gagamara ba Gumbar.
 let-us-two-go quickly. Where you-two at? We-two Gagamara and Gumbar.
 18. *D'ingann'umbalu Ŋurud'awuru. Ŋana ŋurɪn? Gin'äŋga wuɖu marŋo, guli d'aɖu,*
 You-two-hit Ngurudjawuru. What for? He big man, angry,
ŋan'agura marŋo; gala rawari n'iräni. 19. Ŋanalulu d'ingann'umbala? Milin'd'u?
 our man; then died after. With what you-two-hit? With-spear?
 20. *Muläl, birimal'u. Rawari buŋgan'äri n'iräni. 21. Baŋamiŋi. Wango jaganbal'a*
 No, with-birimal. Death strikes after. Perhaps. Alive we-two-left
ŋala. Muläl guli n'umbala. Jälira marŋo wulgu gin'äŋgagu d'aragu. 22. Gul'a
 then. Not angry you-two. Before man afraid he will-be. South
gaɖi jän'äri'l'a. Wai marŋo? Järabula Mangunu. 23. Ŋaɖu marŋo miŋa
 to we-two-go. ? men? They-two-go (to) Mangunu. What man they
gabula? Gad'agudi. Ŋawai. N'äŋan'äbula d'ungu ba bulgun; niamari ŋuru
 two-see? Gad'agudi. Yes. They-two-see fire and smoke; hill from
jän'äribula. 24. Bala marŋo gin'äŋga wanadi. Järanibula. Ŋana gui?
 they-two-go. There man that camps. They-two-approach. What meat?
 25. *Gui? Ŋaɖu guɖ'ara n'umbala? Ŋal'a Gagamara ba Gumbar. Nad'a gui*
 Meat? Who two you-two? We-two Gagamara and Gumbar. Here meat
n'umbalagu. 26. Gui ŋalabula. Ŋana gui? Baŋanu. Nad'a mai,
 for-you-two. Meat they-start-to-eat. What meat? Salmon. Here food,
järi'n'äri. 27. Muläl giribad'u. D'uraid'a wanann'a lani. Ŋuni giribad'u gagara
 nalgo. No honey. At-sea I-camp close. Hither honey east
bi:raŋga. 28. Nad'a gui män'an. Balabala gulibil. Mabu bala gui. Gad'agudi
 in-bush. Here meat only. There turtle. Good that meat. Gad'agudi
d'äbir manbilin'a, Wai marŋo? 29. Wanguru, galaia, balaia wanadaja.
 talked-to-them-two, ? men? Wanguru, there, there they-are.
D'ail'a Wanguru, marŋo ba d'ando. Wai wanadaja malu? Wan'd'a gaɖi
 We-two-come Wanguru, men and women. ? are many? Where to
jän'äribula? 30. Gul'a, ŋal'agura gaɖi ŋura. Wan'd'a n'umbalagura ŋura?

are-you-two-going ? South, our-two to country. Where your-two country ?
Quni gaḍi nura Gun'ingun'in. 31. *Ḑawai. D'a:la ḡal'a bul'i d'angala. Gad'eri*
 This-way to country Gunjingunjin. Yes. Now we-two tired legs. Far
nura jän'äri'l'a. 32. *Galaia, gul'a janguli. Ḑana nura wanadi ?*
 country we-two-come. There, south let-us-two-go. What country is ?
Mandur. Wan'd'a gaḍi janguli ? 33. *Gangara. Ḑana nura ? Gulangulan,*
 Mandur. Where to shall-we-two-go ? Up. What country ? Gulangulang,
balabala wuḍu wangu. 34. *Janguli wangu gaḍi. Ḑana gui ? Bala gui*
 that big stone. Let-us-two-go stone to. What animal ? There animal
wanadi ganiḡ, wangunga gui wanadi. 35. *Ḑana gui ? Landar. Quni*
 is below, on-stone animal is. What animal ? Kangaroo. This-way
janguli, gagara. Ḑawai. 36. *Ḑana gui ? Balabala gui d'ulbugu.*
 let-us-two-go, east. Yes. What animal ? That animal kangaroo rat.
D'ingalguli. N'äminda gui ? Gud'ara. Janguli warugu, jiḡaḍi
 Let-us-two-kill-it. How-many animals ? Two. Let-us-two-go quickly, darkness
d'araiagu nura. 37. *Quni gaḍi walibi, wuḍu gaḍi niamari gagara.* 38. *Gala*
 might-come-over land. This-way to camp, big to hill east. Then
wanduguli gagara. Wai naba wanadi, babala ? Mira gangunara nabagu. Nad'a
 let-us-two-camp east ? ? water is, brother ? I-will-look-for water. Here
wanadi ; gala ḡalguli naba. 39. *Nad'a gui gambann'a ḡad'ulu. Muläl nad'a*
 is ; then let-us-two-eat water. Here meat I-cook I. Not here
mai nad'anga nura. 40. *Bulga nura nad'a ḡad'ulu jira mann'a. Ḑawai.*
 food in-this country. Bulga country he I call-it. Yes.
Janguli warug. 41. *Manan janguli bugula garal'a. Ba:ralu*
 Let-us-two-go quickly. In the morning let-us-two-go early cool. Sun
gambaialigu. Ḑana gui ? Bala wanadi walagora. 42. *Waranguna ḡala.*
 might-burn-us-two. What bird ? That is eaglehawk. Female then.
Ḑanagu waraia ? Gala warann'a, rawari gui. Gawani. Ganguli
 What-with strike ? Then I-strike it, dead bird. Bring-it. We-two-will-take
walagora. 43. *Bala wanadi gui. Ḑana gui ? Bargara, gui ḡaligura, mabu.*
 eaglehawk. There is bird. What bird ? Turkey, meat for-us-two, good.
 44. *Gala warain, rawari ḡala. Nad'a gan'än'a, nad'a mira gawa baninga.*
 There one, dead then. Here I-get-it, here see in-(my)-hand.
 45. *Wan'd'anga gambalguli ? Balanga mirad'a Wai naba ba ? Gambannalagu*
 Where-at shall-we-two-cook ? In-that look. ? water too ? We-might-cook
nad'a gui. 46. *N'undu jära naba gaḍi. Ḑabagu ban'd'alara. Nad'anad'a naba,*
 here meat. You go water to. For-water look. Here water,
wuḍu naba. 47. *Mabu, babala, naba ḡaligu waḍu. Wai n'undu walibi nad'anga*
 big water. Good, brother, water for-us-two big. ? you camp here
wandugun ? Mabu. 48. *Manan janguli ḡala. Wan'd'a gaḍi*
 are ? Good. In-the-morning let-us-two-go then. Where to
janguli ? Qunia, gagara, wuḍu niamari, Gulumbur. 49. *Gulumbur gaḍi*
 shall-we-two-go ? This way east, big hill, Gulumbur. Gulumbur to
janguli. Ḑadugura nura ? Bala N'äḡumadagura nura. 50. *Ḑana warain*
 let-us-two-go. Whose country ? That Njangumada country What other

muwar? *N'ājumada ba Ōulibadu Ba'amiri n'āyan marjo. N'ānguliin'a.*
 language? Njangumada and Ngulibadu. Perhaps you-see men. They-will-see-us-two.
Ōawai, balabala wanadaja marjo. Jālira d'anya marjo, N'ājumada muwar.
 Yes, there are men. Front at men, Njangumada language.
 51. *Balabala N'ājumada jindaraja. Mabu gin'āngaraŋu muwaridi.* 52. *Jārānibula.*
 Those Njangumada are-talking. Good they are-talking. Come along.
Mabu. Gawundaraiabulagu. 53. *Wan'd'a ŋuru? Gad'eri ŋuru. Guladabulu*
 Good. They might call-them-two. Where from? Far from. Guladabulu
ŋuru ŋura gulban'ārīl'a. 54. *N'ājumada n'ura. Wan'd'a Ōulibadu? Nad'a*
 from country we-two-return. Njangumada you. Where Ngulibadu? Here
gin'āngaraŋu Ōulibadu. 55. *Mabu n'ura. Ōan'd'oro mabu marjo. Warad'a bari*
 they Ngulibadu. Good you. We good men. One having
muwar, ŋal'a N'ājumada. 56. *Gala d'ai n'umbala d'anagu. Wai gui?*
 language, we-two Njangumada. Then come you-two to-them. ? meat?
Wan'd'a marjo d'awari? D'ābir manabulan'ara. 57. *Ōuniŋuni, gul'a. Gin'āngaraŋu*
 Where men crows? Ask-them-two. This-way, south. They
d'adi marjo buḍa ŋan'araja. Ōawai. D'awari marjo Bundubundu ŋura. Bala
 poor fellows excrement they-eat. Yes. Crow men Bundubundu country. That
gaḍi ŋura jān'abula.
 two country they-two-go.

Translation.

1. The two (brothers) Gagamara and Gumbar were living above in the Magellanic Clouds. 2. Gagamara hit (Ngurudjawuru). They had been looking at Ngurudjawuru. 3. (when Gagamara said), "Let us hit him." "Eh, brother?" answered Gumbar, 4. "What shall we hit him with?" "Let us hit him with *birimal*." 5. They hurled it and knocked him down on to his belly. They hit him so that he could not stand up. 6. "Oh!" (he called out), "What are you two about?" "You're no big man" (was the answer). "What's your name?" 7. "I am Ngurudjawuru." "Where's your country?" "My country is Migiga." 8. Gagamara and Gumbar then said to him, "Well, good-bye; we are going away, and you are going to die soon."

9. Another man, named Bi:ri, came along from the west. The two brothers saw him. 10. "Who are you two fellows?" (he asked them). "We are Gagamara and Gumbar." "You two hit Ngurudjawuru, our man." 11. "Well, don't be angry about it" (said the brothers), "who are you, anyway?" "I am Bi:ri." 12. "What country do you come from?" "This is my country, just here. My wife is Galjāli." 13. Then Gumbar and Gagamara said, "Well, good-bye." 14. Bi:ri said to them then, "You two go to Wanguru; there are plenty of men and women there, good men and women." 15. "Then don't be angry (with us)."

16. Two men were going along; there they were, coming from the north. 17. "Brother" (said one of the two brothers), "Let us hurry." "Where are you two from?" (asked the newcomers). "We are Gagamara and Gumbar." 18. "You two hit Ngurudjawuru. What did you do it for? He was a big man, a fighter, and our man, and afterwards he died. 19. What did you two hit him with? A spear?" 20. "No" (they replied), "with a *birimal*." "Well, he died afterwards." 21. "Maybe; he was still alive

when we two left him. Don't be angry with us ; someone might be afraid about him later. 22. We two are going south. Are there men there ? ”

The two went on to Mangunu. 23. What man did they see ? Gadjagudi. Yes ; they saw fire and smoke as they went from a hill. 24. There were men camping there. They two came up. “ What meat is there ? ” (they asked). 25. “ Meat ? ” (answered the man addressed). “ Who are you two fellows ? ” “ We are Gagamara and Gubar.” “ Here's some meat for you two.” 26. They began to eat the meat. “ What meat is this ? ” “ Salmon ” and here's some (vegetable) food, nalgo. 27. There is no honey. I am camping down by the seaside ; you'll find honey over there east in the bush. 28. Here there is only meat. There is some turtle ; that's good meat. Gadjagudi went on talking to them. “ Are there men ? ” 29. “ Yes, over that way, at Wanguru, that's where they are.” “ (When) we two reach Wanguru (will there be) men and women ? Are there many there ? ” “ Where are you two making for ? ” 30. “ We are making south, to our own country.” “ Where is your country ? ” “ This way, in the direction of Gunjingunjin.” 31. “ Oh, yes.” “ But just now we are tired with walking. We have come a long way.” 32. (Then the two brothers said to each other), “ Let us go southwards.” “ What country is that ? ” (asked one). “ Mandur ” (replied the other). “ Where shall we go ? ” 33. “ Let's go up.” “ What country ? ” “ Gulangulang, that big stone.” 34. “ All right ; let us go to the stone. What animal is that ? There's an animal down below there, on a stone.” 35. “ What animal ? That's a kangaroo. Let us go this way, eastwards.” 36. “ All right ; now what animal is that ? ” “ That's a kangaroo rat. Let us two kill it.” “ How many animals are there ? ” “ Two. Let us hurry up, we shall be benighted. 37. This is the way to the camp, towards that big hill eastwards.” 38. “ Then let us camp to the east. Is there water there, brother ? ” “ I'll go and look for water. Here it is ; then let us have a drink.” 39. “ I'll do the cooking here. There is no (vegetable) food in this country. 40. I call this country Bulga.” “ Yes. Let us hurry. 41. In the morning we shall go on again early, in the cool, lest the sun burn us. What bird is that ? ” “ That's an eaglehawk.” 42. “ I believe it is a female. What can we hit it with ? ” “ There, I've hit it ; it's a dead bird now. Bring it along. We'll take the eaglehawk with us.” 43. “ There is a bird.” “ What bird is that ? ” “ A turkey, that will be good meat for us, too.” 44. “ There's another one, then, dead. I've brought it here, see it in my hand. 45. Now where shall we-two cook them ? Just look over there ; is that water, too ? Suppose we cook the meat here. 46. You go and fetch water. Have a look round for water.” “ Here is water, plenty of it.” 47. “ Good, brother, plenty of water for us-two. Are you going to camp here ? Good. 48. In the morning, then, we shall go on. Which way shall we make ? ” “ This way, east, to that big hill, Gulumbur.” 49. “ Let us then go to Gulumbur. Whose country is it ? ” “ That is Njangumada country.” 50. “ What other language ? ” “ Njangumada and Ngulibadu. Perhaps you can see men ? ” “ They will be seeing us-two.” 51. “ Yes ; there are men over there, in front of us, talking Njangumada.” “ Yes, that is Njangumada they are talking. They are talking (about something) good.” 52. “ Come along, you-two ” (the men call out). “ Good.” They might be calling them-two. 53. “ Where do you come from ? ” “ From afar. We-two are going back from Guladabulu country. 54. You fellows are Njangumada. Where are the Ngulibadu men ? ” “ They Ngulibadu men are here.” 55. “ Good for you fellows. We are all good men. We all have the same language, for we two are Njangumada.” 56. “ Then you two come along to them.” “ Is there

any meat?" "Where are the Crow men? Ask them two." 57. "This way, southwards. They are poor fellows; they eat excrement." "Yes. The crow men are in Bundubundu country. That is the country those two are going to."

Notes.

D'ilba is the dwelling place of the heroes in the sky, but they are still able to take part in mundane affairs. The hero Ngurudjawuru has already been mentioned. He is mentioned also by Piddington (*Oceania*, III, 53) as a hero of the Northern Tradition. There is, as usual, no time sequence between the two stories. The text is fairly straightforward and does not call for much grammatical explanation. 2 is elliptical, and best supplied as in the translation above; *mirā ga-ŋu-l-bula* is a sort of future perfect, using supplements C (iii), 9 and 4, with the ending of the third person dual subject. 4. *Birimal* are sacred objects, of the *ijurūna* type, shown to initiands first at the final initiation ceremony, and never seen by women. See notes by Piddington, *Oceania*, II, 3, pp. 346, 353, and III, 1, p. 49, and illustration IIIA to the last-mentioned article. 9. In the previous text he was at *Ro:la* (Elkin No. 22). 10. *ŋan'd'oro-gu*, "for us" (inclusive), is difficult, as the exclusive would be expected, and is actually used in 18. Does it imply that Bi:ri expects some sort of loyalty from the two brothers to Ngurudjawuru? 12. *n'undu*, "your." The *-gura* is omitted, and this becomes normal in the eastern dialect of Wolmeri, about Bililuna station. 23 is put in by the narrator, as a concession to general clarity. He either does not put in the action at all, or just by way of explanation to an imaginary questioner, as here. 26. *ŋalabula* is not future, but the inceptive use of *-l-* (C. (iii), 4), *ŋa-la-bula*, eat-begin-they-two. 27. *wana-n-n'a*, "I am camping," with supplement C (iii), 8 (the cerebral element being lost before the following palatal of the pronominal suffix); the other common form of the verb is with the continuative supplement *-di*, e.g. *wana-di*, *wana-da-ja*, etc. as throughout the texts. In the inland dialects the final vowel is lost: *wan-di*, etc. 13 and 29. Wanguru, has been mentioned before. It is near Migiga, at Lagrange. The Mangunu mentioned in 22 is No. 19 on Dr. Elkin's map, and is situated at C. Jaubert. The Gunjingunjin of No. 30 is not explained. In 40 Bulga looks to be Dr. Elkin's 23a, Bulnga, on Frazier Downs. It is worth noticing that the animal (and these sections show how ambiguous the term *gui* is) mentioned in 25, *landar*, is a variety of kangaroo; the kangaroo rat properly being *d'ulbu*. 49. Gulumbur is not placed. Again the Njangumada come into the story, and the two brothers this time claim to be Njangumada and to speak the language as their own. Whether this may be historically correct is uncertain. Piddington (*Oceania*, III, 51) mentions their really belonging to the De Grey River country. There is no mention of Ngulibadu by other writers, and it may be a variant on the *Nga:la* of the preceding story, whose name has also been written *Ngurla* (= *ŋu:la*) by others. 56 and 57. The reference to the "crow" men is difficult. Dr. Elkin gives crow as totem for D'ind'algurin (Lagrange), which is Ngurudjawuru's country. He does not, however, mention Bundubundu country at all. It looks as though it might be south of Garadjeri country altogether.

This is the last of the texts about the two brothers. The next deals with other culture-heroes, and the concluding group is cosmogonic.

TEXT VI. MĒLUMBU'S MARRIAGE.

1. *Bala Mālumbu mario Buruṇu, Migiga ṇura. D'ābulu gin'āngura Bi:ri.*
That Mālumbu man Burong, Migiga country. Father his Bi:ri.
2. *Galiguru jani maṇu. Balagud'ara Maran'd'i ba D'irid'irain (balagud'ara Banaga)*
Bullroarer he-made. They-two Marandji and Djiridjirain (they-two Panaka)
- jindanbula. 3. Janguli mira ganguli jago ṇaligura Mālumbu. 4. Nangud'ara*
said. Let-us-two-go see w.b. of-us-two Mālumbu. Those-two
- Gal'adn'ān (ṇurad'ara). Gal'āli d'ando Bi:rigura. Ḑuni janguli gara Migiga*
Galjadnjān country. Galjāli wife of Bi:ri. This-way let-us-two-go west Migiga
- gaḑi. 5. N'ānan'ābula Mālumbu, bala wanadi jago. Wan'd'a d'ābulu gin'āngura ?*
to. They-two-see Mālumbu, he is w.b. Where father his?
- Wan'd'a gabud'u ? Bala wanadi. 6. Na:niṇu lani nad'a gaḑi wulguru. Wan'd'a*
Where sister ? There is. From-here close here to shade. Where
- ṇuru ? Ḑunia gagarayṇu. 7. Gud'ara muwar gin'āngarayṇu. Muḑa. Wai wanadaja*
from ? This-way from-east. Two talk those. Nothing. ? are
- gagara d'ābulu n'unbulagura ? 8. Ḑuni wanadi gagara. Ḑawai. Wai jāngu*
east father of-you-two ? This-way he-is east Yes. ? shall-he-go
- na:niṇu ? Mulāl. Gala wanadaja maṇa. 9. Mingin, jāṇyalagu gagara ṇad'ugura*
from-here ? No. Then they-sit-stay. Wait, he-might-go east my
- d'ābulu. Gala mabu. Nad'a n'unbulagura balamaru. Wai n'i:mba ? Nad'a n'i:mba.*
father. Then good. Here your-two weapons. ? belt ? Here belt.
- 10. Wai langur ? Nad'a Wandayṇu ṇad'ugu. Nad'a gaḑi wanadi. Ḑawai*
? opossum ? Here. Forehead-band for-me. Here to is. Yes
- d'ābulugu n'unbugura. 11. Gud'ara gabud'u nangud'aragura nilban d'anga Gala wuḑu*
for-father your. Two sisters of them-two promise at. Then big
- gin'āngud'ara gabudu' gud'ara. Galaia jāngubula ṇala. 12. Balagu jan'āl'ara,*
those-two sisters two. Then they-two-will-go. Thither we-two-go,
- ṇal'aguragu d'ando. 13. Gala wuḑu. Ḑawai. Jāngubula gagara*
to-our-two wives. Now-that-they-are big. Yes. The-two-shall-go east
- gabud'u gud'ara. 14. Maṇa wandi:a nad'anga, min malad'i, ṇuni jān'ān'a gudain*
sisters two. Sitting are here, waiting, hither I-go mother
- ba d'ābulugu. 15. Nad'a gaḑi gud'ara jago. Wan'd'a wanadibula ? Ḑunia,*
and father-for. Here to two w.b. Where are they-two ? This-way,
- walibinga (Ro:la ṇura). D'āmbaḑu Migiga wanadi. 16. Jāngun'a. Ḑawai. Ḑunia*
in-camp (Ro:la country). M.F. Migiga is Let-us-go. Yes. This-way
- Ro:la gaḑi d'a:la jāngun'a. 17. Bala gud'ara jago wanadibula. Ḑawai. Gala*
Ro:la to now let-us-go. They two w.b. are. Yes. Then
- jāngun'a, warugu jāngun'a. Wan'd'a ? Bala jān'ara, mangud'ara mira gān'āribulain'a,*
let-us-go, quickly let-us-go. Where ? There go, those-two are-looking-at-us,
- warugu ! 18. Gabud'u gud'ara mai gawabula jagogu, gud'aragu. Nad'a*
quick ! Sisters two food bring for-sister's husbands two. Here
- mai, jārīn'āri, gui gulibil. Ḑawai. 19. Nad'a gui, mai. Mulāl n'unbula wulgu.*
food, nalgo, meat turtle. Yes. Here meat, food. Not you-two afraid.
- Muwar jindalabula. Ḑan'a d'ando, ṇal'a d'ando n'unbulagura. 20. Ḑana ? Mulāl*
You-two-talk. We women, we-two wives of you-two. What ? Not

wulgu. D'irid'irain n'undu jago nad'ugura. Maran'd'i n'undu nad'ugura jago.
 fear. Djiridjirain you sis.h. mine. Marandji you my sis.h.
Ŋawai. 21. Wan'd'a ɲaligu walibi? Nad'a walibi. Wan'd'a ɲali? Balaɲanga
 Yes. Where for-us-two camp? Here camp. Where we-two? Over-there
wanduguli. 22. Muläl n'undu wulgu. Ŋawai. N'undu marŋo nad'ugura.
 we-two-shall-camp. Not you fear. All-right. You man my.
Mingin, ɲala nuruŋu d'äriguŋa ɲala n'undu gadi. 23. Gagara jängun'a, galaia
 Wait, and nuruŋu I-shall-do you to. East let-us-go, there
gulba-guŋa Gal'adn'an gadi. Jängun'a. 24. N'äɲara jängun'a? Manan.
 I-shall-return Galjadnjan to. Let-us-go. When shall-we-go? To-morrow.
Galaiau! Gala wandaja au! Gala jän'äri'l'a. Ŋawai. 25. Galaia; gala jän'äraŋa.
 Right! Then good-bye! Then we-two-go. Yes. All right; then we-go.
Gaiba d'ai gana ɲala. Ŋawai; galaia wandi:a. Dugu, järabula.
 Bye and bye come I shall. Yes; then good-bye. Dugu, you-I-go.
 26. Galaia, muläl guli. N'unbula guli ɲuninga, mabu wandajabula. Ŋawai,
 All-right, not angry, You-two fight here, good you-two-camp. Yes,
wandugul'a.
 we-two-will-camp.

Translation.

1. The man Málumbu was of the Burong section, and belonged to Migiga country. His father was Bi:ri. 2. He used to make bull-roarers. Two Panaka men, named Marandji and Djiridjirain, said (to each other), "Let us two go and see our wives' brother, Málumbu." 3. These two belonged to Galjadnjan country. The name of Bi:ri's wife was Galjäli. 4. "Let us go this way, west, to Migiga" (they said). 5. The two of them saw Málumbu, who was their wife's brother. "Where is his father?" (they asked each other). "Where is his sister?" 6. "There—right close by in the shade here." "Where have you come from?" (they were asked). 7. The two of them were talking, just about nothing in particular. "Is the father of you two over east?" 8. "Yes, he is over east here." "Oh, yes." "Is he going away from here?" "No." They then pitch their camp. 9. "Wait, he may go east—my father (I mean)." "Good. Here are weapons for you two. Have you a belt? Here is a belt. 10. Have you opossum (fur)? Here is some. Here is my forehead band. Here it is here. Yes, that's for your father." 11. The two sisters of those two men have been promised (in marriage). They are big now, so they will go away. 12. "We two will go there, to our wives; 13. they are grown up now." "Yes; the two sisters shall go east. 14. They are camped here, waiting, and I am going now to their mother and father." 15. "There are two wives' brothers here." "Where are they?" "Over here in camp in Roland's country. Their mother's father is at Migiga." 16. "Let us go." "All right, we'll go to-day over to Ro:la. 17. Those two are wives' brothers." "Yes. Let us go, then, and hurry up." "Where to?" "There; the two of them are looking at us. Quick! 18. You two sisters, bring (vegetable) food for your sister's husbands." "Here is food, nalgo, and turtle meat." "All right." 19. "Here is meat and (vegetable) food; don't you two be afraid." "You two talk! We are women, and we-two are your wives. 20. What, then, don't be afraid. Djiridjirain, you are sister's husband of mine. Marandji, you are sister's husband of mine." 21. "Yes. Where can we two camp?"

"Here's the camp." "Where can we-two camp (i.e. the other couple)?" "We shall camp over there. 22. Don't be afraid." "All right. You are my husband." "Wait a bit, I'll carry out *nuruŋu* to you." 23. "Let us go east, and I'll go back to Galjadrjan." "Let us go." 24. "When shall we set out?" "To-morrow." "Right! Good-bye, then! We two are going." "All right." 25. "So then, we are off. Bye and bye I will go." "All right; good-bye. Dugu, you go with them." 26. "All right, no fighting. You two fight over there, then they will camp." "All right, we two will camp."

Notes.

There are difficulties in this story that arise chiefly from the ambiguous meanings of certain kinship terms. Malumbur's father, Bi:ri, is a Garimba man married to Gāl'āli, a Bal'eri woman. Marand'i and D'irind'irin are both Banaga men from Gal'a country. Marand'i and D'irind'irin went west to Migiga to see Malumbur, who was their wife's brother (*jago*), and left their father over east. On arrival at Migiga they wonder where Malumbur's father and sister are and notice that they are close by. Malumbur says, "My father may go east," and then (9) gives Marand'i and D'irind'irin various things including a forehead band, all for their father out east. The sisters of Marand'i and D'irind'irin are ready for marriage and will go away (i.e. for marriage). This sentence is a narrator's explanation. Marand'i and D'irind'irin then decide to go to their promised wives at Ro:la ("Roland's" Station). There are two wives' brothers camped at Roland's and so Marand'i and D'irind'irin go there. On arrival they ask the two sisters of these men for food and tell them to acknowledge that they are their wives, i.e. wives of Marand'i and D'irind'irin.

A. CAPELL.

(To be concluded.)

CORRESPONDENCE, NOTES AND NEWS :

Anthropological Society of N.S.W.: Financial Position.

Sir :

I have examined the cash books and vouchers of the Anthropological Society of N.S.W. for the period commencing 1st October, 1947, and ending 30th September, 1948, and certify that the following Statement of Income and Expenditure is correctly

compiled therefrom and that in my opinion the accompanying Statement of Assets and Liabilities fairly sets out the position of the Society at the concluding date.

The valuation of the stock on hand of MANKIND as vouched for by the Honorary Secretary has been accepted by me.

E. A. HOLDEN,
Chartered Accountant (Aust.).

THE ANTHROPOLOGICAL SOCIETY OF NEW SOUTH WALES.

INCOME AND EXPENDITURE ACCOUNT FOR THE YEAR ENDED
30TH SEPTEMBER, 1948.

[illegible]

BALANCE SHEET AS AT 30TH SEPTEMBER, 1948.

LIABILITIES.		ASSETS.	
	£ s. d.		£ s. d.
Society Fund—		Stocks on Hand—MANKIND	.. 143 16 0
Balance as at 1st October,		Library	.. 50 0 0
1947	256 2 0	Commonwealth Savings Bank	.. 99 13 11
Add—		Cash in Hand	.. 0 6 9
Increase Stocks of			
MANKIND	5 11 0		
Excess of Income over			
Expenditure for the			
year ended 30th			
September, 1948 ..	32 3 8		
	37 14 8		
	£293 16 8		
			£293 16 8

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- (a) To promote the science of Anthropology.
- (b) To hold biennial conferences of delegates from affiliated societies to deal with matters affecting affiliated societies generally, or the science of anthropology.
- (c) To take public and official action in the interests of anthropology, as may be deemed desirable.
- (d) To encourage affiliated societies to co-operate in every possible way.

The Anthropological Society of N.S.W. as such is not responsible for any opinion or declaration published in this magazine, by whomsoever expressed, unless specifically stated to be so by the Editor.

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